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3 JUNE 1986

# Sub-Saharan Africa Report



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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3 JUNE 1986

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/12223

COMMENTARY DENIES 'AGGRESSIVE' DESIGNS, INCLINATIONS

MB031105 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 1200 GMT 2 May 86

[ANGOP commentary: "We Are A Peaceful State"]

[Text] The Angolan state, which became a people's republic 10 years ago on 11 November 1975, has never manifested aggressive designs nor does it have such an inclination. From the time it became independent, Angola has taken a stand which has earned it high esteem and consideration from the international community as evidenced by the UN and OAU's recognition of the legitimacy of its existence as a free and sovereign state. It was obvious that this stand, added to the political option freely chosen by the People's Republic of Angola, has [words indistinct] its declared enemies or those it made over the course of its existence.

Today, lost voices are emerging to claim the so-called right of participation in the management of our sovereignty, having forgotten or pretending to ignore --which is still more serious--that in the past, as is the case today, they were used against our sovereignty [words indistinct].

Every policy guiding the independent Angola nation has been drawn up in the interest of the working classes--the majority of our country. It was, obviously, not aimed at satisfying the ambition of tribalists, racists, opportunists, and regionalists who are today part of the South African Army from which they receive the mission of murdering in cold blood peaceful civilians. In their cat's paw attitude, the puppets have forgotten that historical circumstances (?led Angola to seek) the solidarity of friendly countries to sustain and subdue the first big invasion of 1975 and those that followed.

Curiously, the invaders assisted by a group of traitors [words indistinct] consolidation of the people's revolution in Angola. To give an air of seriousness to the situation created by Pretoria regime, a situation which has never been viewed by the international community as a civil conflict, it projects it as an East-West confrontation.

As Comrade President Jose Eduardo dos Santos rightly pointed out during the opening session of the summit of heads of state of the five Portuguese-speaking African countries, the Cuban internationalist forces have never crossed our borders and have always limited their action inside Angola to acting as a deterrent.

/12232

CSO: 3400/1665

UNITA READINESS, FOREIGN POWERS ROLE ASSESSED

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 5 May 86 p 4

[Article by Peter Wallington]

[Text] Unita president Jonas Savimbi last week flew journalists to central Angola where he said his troops were better prepared for the expected MPLA offensive than last year.

But military analysts say the MPLA, too, is better prepared.

Angola's radar network, which provides an effective air defense umbrella, and its sophisticated Soviet weaponry could prove too strong for Unita and make it too dangerous for South African intervention, says Professor Mike Hough of Pretoria University's Institute of Strategic Studies.

Newspaper reports, quoting Unita sources in Europe and diplomatic sources, have said the MPLA has been ferrying major shipments of equipment and arms to its southern front, presumably in preparation for another offensive against Unita's Jamba headquarters in south-eastern Angola.

The Angolan news agency Angop has recently reported clashes between government troops and Unita rebels in the central Huambo province and eastern Moxico province.

Savimbi told journalists last week that he had started receiving promised US aid. Asked whether he had received the Stinger anti-aircraft missiles, Savimbi said Unita would have the "effective weapons promised" by May.

But whether this will be enough to defeat an MPLA attack is debatable, and it raises two questions: whether the US would step up aid, and whether SA would intervene, militarily, on Unita's side.

There have been reports that a strategic Angolan government airfield at Cuito-Cuanvale, the closest airbase to Jamba, has been lengthened and reinforced in preparation for heavy government transport planes.

Angola has Mig-17, Mig-21 and Mig-23 fighter aircraft as well as Mi-24 attack helicopters, and, of course, the defensive air umbrella.

According to Wim Booyse, a researcher at Pretoria University's Institute for Strategic Studies, Angola's military arsenal has been increased substantially in recent months. 6

For example, he says, last year Angola had about four Mi-24 attack helicopters, but now has 24, and could have 24 more Mig-23's than last years total of 10.

The air defence umbrella includes integrated command and control of anti-aircraft artillery, radars for early warning and fire control and a network of suitable airfields and modern fighter aircraft.

There have been claims in the past that SA had helped Unita militarily, but SA has denied this and said SADF action in Angola was aimed at Swapo.

Chief of the SA Air Force, Lt-Gen D. J. Earp, said at a conference at Pretoria University's Institute of Strategic Studies last year that the Soviet-build air umbrella in Angola was as formidable as those in Eastern-Europe or the Middle East.

He warned that as the air defence umbrella became more effective it would be more difficult to neutralise.

There are other factors which militate against South African involvement. On a political level, Hough says SA cannot afford the kind of condemnation it received in 1975 when troops went into Angola.

Secondly, he says there is the prospect of the conflict escalating into a conventional war involving the Cubans and even the Soviets.

Thirdly, he says SA cannot afford losing fighter aircraft to the same degree that the Angolans can. While Angola would have little trouble replacing its aircraft, for SA the problem would be more severe.

Hough points out the South African Mirage F-1 and Mig-23's have not yet clashed, and so it is difficult to assess how they would fare in combat.

The University of Arkansas' Darrel Freeman wrote in a recent issue of the Issup Strategic Review that the Mirage has greater multi-mission capabilities. In other words, it can carry more weapons and fuel (payloads) over a greater range and has greater operational flexibility.

Mig-23's also tend to leave considerable smoke trails which, says Freeman, in the clear southern African air would lead to quicker identification.

On the other hand he says the Mig-23 is a better strike aircraft than the Mig-21, and its capabilities in the ground attack role represent a significant improvement over the past Soviet fighter aircraft.

Professor Deon Fourie of Unisa's department of Strategic Studies says he doubts SA has any contingency plans regarding Angola and possible involvement would depend on circumstances at a particular time.

With regard to increased US support, there is considerable opposition in the US to any involvement in Angola. An American source says that without public opinion support, Reagan is unlikely to embroil the US in a distant conflict.

Arguments that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) would channel covert aid ignores the fact that while the CIA does not need congressional approval for its actions, it does need presidential approval.

Fourie says a successful assault on Jamba would not necessarily mean the end of Oavimbi and Unita, although it would be a psychological blow.

He says that should Jamba fall Unita would take to the bush again, reverting to guerrilla warfare, something for which they are far better prepared. And the MPLA would probably have difficulty in defending captured Unita territory.

/9274

CSO: 3400/1744

## BRIEFS

RSA MILITARY PLUNDER TIMBER--Units of the South African Army which are occupying some areas in the Cuando Cubango Province are negotiating illegally the selling of timber, skins, and diamonds which they plunder from that province. The South African soldiers cut the timber which is thrown on the Cuango River and later retrieved in Pongola in the Caprivi strip, in the illegally occupied Namibia. The timber is then carried to a sawmill belonging to Portuguese citizen, Fernando Jose Lopes, in Rundo. This person has lived in Angoli before and now resides in Namibia since Angola's independence. The plunder of timber also involves the participation of UNITA bandits. [Text] [Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 0500 GMT 10 May 86 MB] /12232

CSO: 3400/1665

FRANCE PROVIDES 15 MILLION FRANCS BUDGETARY AID

AB040917 Paris AFP in French 1114 GMT 3 May 86

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Paris, 3 May (AFP)--A budgetary aid agreement involving a sum of Fr 15 million was signed in Paris on Friday by the cooperation minister, Michel Aurillac, and Chad's ambassador to France, Mr Allam-Mi, a communique from the Cooperation Ministry announced on Saturday.

This aid, the communique states, adds to two previous ones signed on 17 March involving Fr 15 million and Fr 24.5 million, respectively. The communique emphasizes that with the acute economic crisis currently facing Chad, mostly because of the continuing fall in the world price of cotton which represents 95 percent of its export revenue, France is thus showing its active support to and solidarity with a country in great difficulty."

"It is also trying, the communique continues, to mobilize the international community in the search for an appropriate solution to this crisis which cotton producing countries are generally facing. At the bilateral level, at the European level (European Development Fund), and at the world level (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development), she is making every effort so that in the course of the year, supplementary finances will be made available to Chad and other producer countries concerned."

/12232

CSO: 3400/1673

## TPLF LAUNCHES OFFENSIVE AGAINST ETHIOPIAN POSITIONS

Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 26 Apr 86 p 5

[Text]

The Tigray People's Liberation Front launched an offensive on April 16 against Ethiopian government positions near Adi Arcai in the Tselemti region, the head of the TPLF's London information bureau Haile Guesesse told THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER during a visit to Paris this week. He said that TPLF forces had taken control of the Tekeze bridge on the Axoum-Gondar road and repulsed reinforcements sent from Endeselassie. Fighting was said to be still continuing on April 22. In addition, 500 government militia were said to have gone over to the TPLF in the past two weeks.

With regard to the proposed new Ethiopian constitution, Mr Guesesse said the Addis Ababa authorities did not seem "very serious" in its efforts to resolve the problem of the country's various ethnic groups because it had made no contact, either directly or indirectly, with the "liberation organisations". He said the idea of forming a region composed partly of Tigrinya-speaking Eritreans (those living south of Asmara) and a portion of Tigray, as unofficial sources seemed to indicate, was unworkable.

Mr Guesesse said the TPLF had had no relations with the Eritrean People's Liberation Front for the past year, but was developing its links with the Oromo Liberation Front, whose leadership had agreed to join the United Democratic Front proposed by the TPLF in 1985.

Mr Guesesse also said that by February the TPLF had succeeded in repatriating 65,000 Tigreans who had fled to Sudan because of famine. The TPLF disputes the official figure of 600,000 people resettled by Addis Ababa in the south-west of the country: Mr Guesesse said only 200,000 inhabitants of Wollo province and 150,000 Tigreans had been moved, adding that the government was giving false figures in order to receive more international aid.

/9274

CSO: 3400/1657

## FOREIGN CURRENCY RESERVES TRIPLE IN 1985

Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 12 Apr 86 p 6

[Text]

Official statistics published in Addis Ababa have revealed that Ethiopia's foreign currency reserves tripled in 1985, despite it being a year which will go down in history as one of unprecedented famine, causing at least half a million deaths. The reserves have gone up to 148 million dollars from 44.3 million in 1984, which was the worst since the 74.9 million of 1980. Between 1979 and 1983 foreign currency reserves fell by almost five per cent, and total reserves by 3.8 per cent.

The 1985 performance is attributed, according to a report by Agence France-Presse, to tight controls on imports of consumer goods, and the large number of international and non-governmental organisations which have been spending hard currency in the country in support of their humanitarian operations. State expenditure has also been greatly reduced and the budget deficit, originally estimated at 11 per cent, has been cut to nine per cent. But it is massive overseas food and material aid above all which has avoided the need for Ethiopia to dig further into its reserves. The total aid in 1985 was estimated by the United Nations Bureau in Addis Ababa to be 1.1 bn\$ (of which 282 m\$ dollars from the United States, 260 m\$ from the Soviet Union and 82 m\$ from the European Community).

*I.O.N.- So the granaries and the coffers are full! The success of President Mengistu Haile Mariam lies, as some of his detractors stress, in his ability to emerge strengthened and not weakened from the ordeal, unlike his predecessor Emperor Haile Selassie, who was swept away by the famine of 1974.*

/9274

CSO: 3400/1657

## NEW RADAR SYSTEM, EXTENDED RUNWAYS AT KOTOKA AIRPORT

AB301847 Accra Domestic Service in English 1800 GMT 30 Apr 86

[Text] A new 2-system surveillance radar equipment has been installed at the Kotoka International Airport in Accra. It cost 2.5 million pounds sterling and was installed by Plessey Radar, Britain. The new system is made up of a primary radar which can monitor aircraft movement up to 80 nautical miles and a secondary radar which covers 200 nautical miles.

Commissioning the equipment today, the secretary for transport and communications, Mr Kwame Peprah, stressed that the installation forms part of the government's program to modernize the airport. He hinted that the runway has been extended from 9,600 feet to 9,800 feet to cater for all types of aircraft. In addition, the crash-rescue fire service has been equipped to international standards and there is an on-going project to provide very high frequency coverage over the entire Accra Flight-Information Region. According to Mr Peprah, there is also the precision-approach-path-indicator project to be completed soon. This is a visual approach facility to supplement the provision of the instrument landing system. The secretary emphasized that as a member of the International Civil Aviation Organization, Ghana is committed to ensuring that the safety of its airspace is up to international standards.

He announced that the Tamale aerodrome is being upgraded to serve as an alternative to the Accra airport. The airstrips at Was and Kete Krachi will also be upgraded soon to boost trade and tourism in the rural areas.

/8918

CSO: 3400/1661

## BRIEFS

JAPANESE GRANTS, ALLOCATION--Ghana and Japan today signed two agreements under which Ghana will receive two grants from Japan totalling 289 million [units not given], about \$1.7 million. The first grant of 250 million yen is to be used to purchase sardines for distribution to nursing mothers under the maternal and child nutrition improvement program. The second grant of 39 million yen is to be used for sports and audio-visual equipment for the Winneba Specialist Training College. The secretary for foreign affairs, Dr Obed Asamoah, who signed for Ghana said Japan has demonstrated its support for the economic recovery program by giving Ghana a number of similar grants over the years. [Excerpt] [Accra Domestic Service in English 1300 GMT 29 Apr 86 AB] /8918

1985 TRADE DEFICIT SKYROCKETED--Accra, April 25 (AFP)--Ghana's foreign trade deficit in 1985 soared to 6.6 billion cedis (\$73.3 million), up from 710 million cedis (\$7.9 million) the previous year, according to figures released here by the government's Central Bureau of Statistics. The bureau put the total value of imports in 1985 at 39.8 billion cedis (\$442.2 million), compared to 20.9 billion cedis (\$232.2 million) in 1984--an increase of 90.8 per cent. The value of exports however increased by only 64.6 per cent from 20.2 billion cedis (\$224.4 million) in 1984 to 33.2 billion cedis (\$367.8 million) in 1985, it said. The bureau attributed the sharp deterioration in trade figures to liberal trade policies pursued by the government during 1985, but added that the same policies had substantially improved the availability of goods on the domestic market, helping to keep down prices. [Text] [Paris AFP in English 1732 GMT 25 Apr 86 AB] /8918

CSO: 3400/1661

## BRIEFS

COMPUTERIZED ELECTRIC POWER EQUIPMENT--Asea Transmission [of Sweden] has obtained an order for a computer-based system for controlling and monitoring Kenya's electricity network. The order is worth 65 million kronor and included a national operations center in Nairobi and regional operations centers in Nairobi and Mombassa. It is expected that the project will be completed in a little over 2 years. [Text] [Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 24 Apr 86 p 33] /12232

CSO: 3650/211

DOE BLAMES EXTERNAL FACTORS, SUBVERSION FOR NATION'S ILLS

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 14 Apr 86 pp 1, 11

[Text]

President Samuel Kanyon Doe has attributed many of the nation's economic problems to the global economic crisis and subversive activities against the Liberian Government.

He said that the high unemployment rate and increasing debt burdens of developing countries, as well as the difficulties in the terms and conditions of lending institutions, were demonstrations that the "world economy is still in a state of crisis."

Dr. Doe made the observation Saturday at the dedicatory program of the Samuel K. Doe Sports Complex in Paynesville near Monrovia.

President Doe noted that as a result of the global economic crisis, the process of development for most

Third World countries including Liberia "continues to be seriously affected."

"Many of our economic problems have been the result of external forces in the international economy over which we have no control," Dr. Doe pointed out.

President Doe further said "coupled with the global economic crisis, attempts to destabilize the Liberian Government have certainly contributed to our economic problems."

He said such "unscrupulous attempts have frightened away investors, from the country and led to a flight of capital which has generally resulted in loss of confidence in the economy.

"For these reasons and based on our com-

mitment to keep our economy on an even keel, we have on many occasions been compelled to institute harsh measures and implement policies geared towards economy recovery," President Doe explained.

Dr. Doe then urged Liberians to understand the "nature of the problems facing the country and come together so that we can evolve the needed solutions."

President Doe then called on parents and guardians throughout the country to instill "a renewed sense of discipline and patriotism" in their children.

Dr. Doe said parents and guardians have the responsibility to ensure that the country

remains a "beacon of hope" for all generations, and not a "place of lawlessness and despair."

"The call of the future is too strong, the challenge, too great to get lost in the blind alleys of indiscipline and chaos," Dr. Doe asserted.

President Doe noted that it was a matter of "grave concern" that there was an apparent erosion in those traditional "virtues and ideals" which formed the "bedrock" of the Liberian society, because "families have lost the will to install discipline in their children, while schools in the country have also failed to fill the gap in moral leadership."

/9317

CSO: 3400/1713

DOE URGES ARMED FORCES TO CONTINUE TO PROTECT STATE

Monrovia DAILY STAR in English 14 Apr 86 pp 8, 2

[Article by Augustus Nimely]

[Text] .

The President of Liberia and Commander In-Chief of the Armed Forces of Liberia Dr. Samuel K. Doe, has cautioned "men and women in arms to continue to stand as protectors and defenders of the pillars and foundations of Liberians freedom, liberties and system of life".

This was contained in his Redemption Day speech delivered by Defense Minister, Gray D. Allison at the Barclay Training Center (BTC), on Saturday to mark the occasion of the sixth anniversary of National Redemption Day.

Dr. Doe said that the Army took over the affairs

of the state on April 12, 1980 and "promised the Liberian people that it would transform the country into a democratic society within five years, the promise it has fulfilled."

He said Liberians can now boast of a multi-party system under a civilian government.

President Doe asserted that soldiers under "our constitution have a unique awesome responsibility," and therefore called upon them to "consistently perform their duties with honor and fortitude, thereby reflecting credit to themselves, their people and country."

This, Dr. Doe said that they should stand "prepare to fight, if necessary to defend the sovereignty, safety and security of the state and remain vigilant at all times to withstand any and all forces brought against the nation."

"As your Commander-In-Chief," Dr. Doe continued, "I assure you that this administration has no intention to relegate you to the state of 'NOCOS' as you were formerly called."

President Doe pointed out, that his administration will remain committed to seek the welfare of all

Liberians, irrespective of ethnic background.

As part of the festivities marking the Redemption Day celebration, three modern market buildings estimated at nearly \$3 million including the Nancy B. Doe Jorkpeh Town Market on Tubman Boulevard, the Paynesville Red Light Market on Somalia Drive and the Clara Town Market along with the Samuel Kanyon Doe Sports Complex were dedicated.

The joint dedicatory ceremonies of the markets was held at the Jorkpen Town Market, where the keys of the Paynesville Red Light Market

were turned over to the Acting Minister of Rural Development, Hon. Johnson Saygbe by the President of the West African Contractors Corporation, Mr. Joseph Younis.

Mr. Younis in brief remarks, assured the government of Liberia of his company's continuous participation in the development of the country, and said his company was ready to "participated in what-ever project the government wishes to undertake."

Minister Saygbe later, presented the keys to Vice President, Harry F. Moniba who on behalf of President Doe said no

Liberian has the right to endanger the peace and stability of the state. He said, Liberians should remain "Conscious of their National and Moral responsibilities" and work together with the singleness of purpose for the future development and progress of the nation and its people. He later presented the keys to Internal Affairs Minister, Edward K. Sackor who for his part lauded Dr. Doe for the construction of the markets.

Earlier the ribbon to the Jorkpen Town Market was cut by the Mrs Minita Moniba. Wife of the Vice President.

/9317

CSO: 3400/1712

EEC LOAN AGREEMENT REACHED ON PORT REHABILITATION

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 15 Apr 86 p 1

[Text]

A \$12.4 million loan agreement was yesterday signed between the European Economic Commission (EEC) and the Government of Liberia for the rehabilitation of the Harper Port in Maryland County and the improvement of the Free Port of Monrovia.

Planning and Economic Affairs Minister Paul Jeffy and Public Works Minister Yudu Gray signed for the Liberian Government, while the EEC delegate to Liberia, Dr. Al-Nikolas Alexandrakis, signed for the commission.

In brief remarks, Minister Paul Jeffy

expressed delight over the signing of the agreement, which he said, "was a step forward" in developing ports in the country.

Dr. Alexandrakis said the EEC was always ready to render assistance to the Government of Liberia in the areas of development adding, "this region is rich and has great potential for development."

He said the EEC "will always stand by Liberia in her development programs", not only with the ports in the country but in other areas as well.

/9317

CSO: 3400/1711

COMMERCE MINISTRY TAKES FIRM STAND ON PROFITEERING

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 14 Apr 86 pp 1, 11

[Article by J.N. Elliott]

[Text]

The Commerce Ministry will hereafter confiscate the goods of any business establishment caught selling essential commodities above government's regulated prices.

According to Commerce Minister McLeod Darpoh, goods seized from businesses charged with profiteering will be auctioned and proceeds from the sale deposited into government's revenue.

She told a news conference last week that businesses which fail to price goods on their shelves will be fined in accordance with the law.

Minister Darpoh said her ministry was taking such measures because some establishments have seemingly refused to reduce the prices of 20 essential commodities, al-

though government has already reduced or removed taxes on such items.

As a means of bettering the living standard of the Liberian masses, Mrs. Darpoh said the Commerce Ministry will on a daily basis ensure that businesses abide by the price structure announced last month by the Commerce and Finance ministries.

A survey conducted last week by this paper revealed that despite the price reduction by the Commerce Ministry, consumers are still having to pay exorbitant prices for essential commodities.

The managements of several businesses contacted by this paper said they are not refusing to slash prices of essential items but, argued that

the Commerce Ministry has to date not released a price list detailing the cost and brand names of the reduced items.

Others contended that they will be selling at a loss if they cut prices now because their stocks were acquired before the reduction in prices was announced.

They are appealing to the Commerce Ministry to give them a grace period to dispose of existing stocks.

In its move to ease

the financial constraints faced by Liberians, government reduced taxes on exercise books, baby food, radio, soap, cooking oil and sardines.

Other commodities affected by the reduction include agricultural and educational materials such as printed books, fertilizer, yeast, lactose, live poultry, animal feed, salt, tooth paste, oats and meals, dairy products, margarine, onions, food drinks, dried salted fish, pig feet including other offals.

/9317

CSO: 3400/1711

NATIONAL PALM CORPORATION PROBLEMS SURVEYED

Workers Protest Arrears, Closings

Monrovia DAILY STAR in English 17 Apr 86 pp 1, 5

[Article by E. Douglas Yaye and Tiklo Konton]

[Text] Over 500 employees of the National Palm Corporation (NPC) converged on the premises of the corporation in Sinkor in demand of their 13 months salary arrears owed by the corporation.

According to the chairman of the Workers Union Association of the corporation, Mr Robert M. Doe, "since December 1, 1984, when all Palm Projects in the country were turned over to the National Palm Corporation (NPC), they have been deprived of all immunities enjoyed under the Liberia Produce Marketing Corporation (LPMC).

Mr Doe among several immunities named the lack of transportations, medications, insurance policies and rent.

Mr Doe also disclosed that out of the ten Palm Projects in the country, only Totota Mill and Kpatawee Project were owed the least salary arrears.

Mr Doe said that five of the Palm Projects have been closed without the knowledge of its employees. He said that due to the failure of management to inform them (employees), they will continue to work until they receive documents from management informing them about the closure of the company.

Mr Doe said that the action by management to close down operations at some projects was contrary to the guidelines set by the Workers Union of the Corporation in 1985 employees "Hand Book."

Mr Doe also called on the Board of Directors of the Corporation to take a critical review of the management contract between the Liberian government and the Belgium SAF firm, which Mr Doe said was not in the best interest of the entire workmanship of the Corporation.

Mr Doe further recommended that for the smooth operations of the Palm Projects in the country, all Palm Projects be turned over to the Liberia Produce Marketing Corporation (LPMC) and that the Belgium Management Tech be dissolved immediately.

When contacted, the Managing Director of the Corporation Mrs Esther K. Richards denied that management was indebted to the employees for 13 months as they alleged.

She noted that the employees were "confusing salary arrears" owed them by the Liberia Palm Produce Corporation (LPPC) whose budgetary funds were controlled by the government of Liberia.

She further explained that the (LPPC) was at the time operating under the Liberia Produce Marketing Corporation (LPMC).

Mrs Richards then asserted that the National Palm Corporation was established on December 11, 1984 under Decree No 82 of the dissolved People's Redemption Council. She said that prior to the establishment of the corporation, LPMC had paid the employees their last salary arrears of November.

She then pointed out that certain palm projects such as Zleh Town and Dubee Palm Projects in Grand Gedeh County and Foyah Palm Project in Lofa County among others, were not generating funds for the corporation. Therefore, she said that she advised them to reduce their staff so that they would be able to generate funds and pay their employees on time.

She also said that the Palm Kernel Oil Mill of the corporation at the Free Port of Monrovia was closed down in October 1985 because the Belgium sponsored management team contracted by the Board of Directors of the corporation felt that the price of palm kernel oil had dropped from \$850 to \$270 per barrel on the World Market which pointed a great loss to the kernel oil production of the corporation.

She said the National Palm Corporation was indebted to LPMC in the tune of \$31,000.

Mrs Richards further declared that among the ten palm projects under her corporation only Kpatawee Palm Project and the Totota Palm Mill on Bond County were in good working condition.

"The corporation is only owing employees of those two projects three months and five months respectively," she said.

## Management Blames Belgium Team

Monrovia DAILY STAR in English 25 Apr 86 pp 2, 5

[Text]

The Managing Director of the National Palm Corporation (NPC), Mrs. Esther Richards, says that the presence of the Belgium Technical Team presently working along with the Corporation, was a contributing factor to the financial problem the corporation is faced with."

She alleged that the Belgium Management team has been ineffective to the extent that the corporation had been plunged in a \$161,000 debt to local farmers for palm oil.

Clarifying a news report in an interview with the Daily Star last Friday, Mrs. Richards who considered as "false and misleading" a front page story of the April 17, 1986 issue of the Daily Star Newspaper, caption "500 NPC WORKERS DEMAND 13 MONTHS PAY", in which the management was blamed for being the problem in the corporation, noted that the "hard time the em-

ployees, including myself, are facing is because of the huge sum of money paid to the Belgium Technical Management Team for its upkeep."

Supporting her allegations against the Belgium Management Team, the NPC Managing Director revealed that on November 17, 1985, a consignment of 512 tons of palm Kernel oil estimated at \$155,997, was shipped to Hamburg aboard the "MV CHRISTAINBORG" but up to now, the corporation has not received a "single cent from Hamburg nor the Belgium team."

She, however, noted that when the Management of the Belgium team was asked about the fate of the consignment of the oil, she was informed that the "payment was made but was never remitted to Liberia."

Mrs. Richards further disclosed that as a result of the delay, the corporation had been finding it

difficult to meet its operational cost and other obligations, including salary payment.

On the level of performance by the Belgium Team, Mrs. Richards expressed dissatisfaction over their operation and co-operation with her corporation and employees, because of what she described as the "team's failure to work according to the terms of the agreement" calling for "necessary assistance to the workers when the need arises".

The NPC boss also disclosed that since the arrival of the 8-man Management Team, the corporation had spent over \$500,000 annually for the upkeep and maintenance of the team.

Commenting on the payment allegedly owed the employees for the past 13 months, Mrs. Richards clarified that 61 employees of the Palm Kernel (PK) Mill and the em-

ployees at the Central office have been paid up to January 1986, while some employees in Zeleh Town have not been paid for seven months and another group in CKpatawee for five months.

Concerning immunities which the workers alleged they were deprived of, including "transportation, medication, insurance policy and rent", Mrs. Richards revealed that she received an "annual salary of \$10,000 and was only entitled to her "salary and a vehicle, and nothing else."

Refuting allega-

tions that five of the "Palm projects were closed without the knowledge of employees," Managing Director Richards made it clear that operations at the Palm Kernel (PK) Mill "was stopped for annual overhauling and repairs to be carried for three months."

When contacted, the General Manager of the National Palm Corporation (NPC) and member of the Belgium Management Team, Mr. Barrie T. Evans, said that "50 percent of the amount from the 512 tons of

Palm Kernel Oil shipped to Hamburg aboard the MV CHRISTAINBORG on November 17, 1985, was transferred to Liberia through the Agricultural and Cooperative Development Bank's account of the National Palm Corporation."

All efforts to get a word from the President of the Agricultural and Co-operative Development Bank, Mr. Wilson Tarpeh, proved futile up to press time.

A reliable source closed to the bank, however, noted that the amount have not reached the bank.

/9317

CSO: 3400/1714

LPRC WANTS TO RESUME PETROLEUM REFINING

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 17 Apr 86 pp 1, 6

[Text]

The Liberia Petroleum Refining Company (LPRC) wants to start refining crude oil again, LPRC new managing director Philip T. Davis has disclosed

Mr. Davis during a welcoming ceremony held for him at the corporation's premises last Wednesday said there is a need for LPRC to go back "on stream," adding that "we must court the supportive understanding of the company's various publics, including policy makers, impressing upon them the need to resume refining."

Mr. Davis statement comes at a time when there is an oil glut on the world market and shortages being experienced on the Liberian market for certain essential by-products of the refining process, such as asphalt.

The LPRC's refinery was shut down few years ago by government following a study which reportedly revealed that the state could save millions of dollars by importing the refined products directly.

An LPRC release sent to this paper did detail reasons why it is now feasible for LPRC to re-commence the refining of crude oil.

During the welcoming ceremony, Mr. Davis stressed that it was the responsibility of every employee to promote and project the good image of the company and to enlighten the public about the role of LPRC in the national economy.

Mr. Davis warned employees to keep in mind that the corporation is an industrial area and not a "political center."

He said that he will maintain an open channel of communication, and that his office is open to every employee.

The new LPRC boss, Mr. Davis, told the employees that it was not his plans to drastically change the organizational structure of the company.

He however, emphasized the essentialness of each department executing the functions and duties appertaining to it.

In this respect, he announced the re-transfer of the security section from the executive department to the administration department.

He also announced that the motor pool along with the auto shop was being transferred from the general services section to the maintenance de-

partment as a cost-saving measure.

The deputy managing director for administration, Mr. T. Gbeku Wright, welcomed back Mr. Davis as the new LPRC boss.

He also referred to the harmonious working relations that subsisted between Mr. Davis and the workers when he served at the LPRC previously.

Mr. Wright said the occasion engendered mixed feelings as the LPRC works as a family adding that the outgoing LPRC chief was "not only our managing director, but was also a mother to us all at the refinery."

Mr. Davis replaced Mrs. Aletha Johnson-Francis, who was dropped from government in a major reshuffle effected by President Samuel Doe.

/9317  
CSO: 3400/1713

GOLD, DIAMOND MINING STILL GENERATING REVENUE

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 25 Apr 86 pp 1, 6

[Article by J.N. Elliott]

[Text] More than quarter of a million dollars was generated last year by government from the gold and diamond industry which is presently on a downward trend.

The \$382,451 already deposited into government coffers was realized from the issuance of licenses to dealers and exporters of diamond and gold.

According to the 1985 annual report of the Ministry of Lands, Mines and Energy, the downward trend in the nation's gold and diamond industry is due to the decline in prices on the international market and the decrease in the quantity of both commodities.

Diamond export statistic indicates that 138,321 carats valued at \$4,700,806 were shipped last year as compared to 239,531 carats valued at \$11,021,182 during the same period in 1984, the report said.

About 4,866.71 ounces of gold valued at \$1,242,383 were exported last year as compared to 10,537.89 ounces valued at \$3,057,158.79 in 1984, the report continued.

The quantity of diamonds dropped by 47 percent and 63 percent in value while the quantity of gold declined by 60 percent and its value decreased by 65 percent.

The report indicated that royalty on diamond dropped by 59 percent while that on gold was slashed by 67 percent.

/9317

CSO: 3400/1713

# MORE INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES APPLY FOR LEGISLATIVE SEATS

Monrovia DAILY STAR in English 24 Apr 86 pp 1, 7

[Text]

Over eight independent candidates have thus far filed their letters of application to the Elections Commission (ECOM) to contest in the ensuing legislative by-elections.

ECOM Chairman Isaac Randolph told the Daily Star in a telephone interview Tuesday that more applications were still expected as the files remain open.

He said that those who have applied have expressed their desire to stand as independent candidates to run for the six seats in the National Legislature recently declared vacant owing to the refusal of some elected legislators to take their seats at their parties urging.

Hon. Randolph, who could not disclose the names of those who have thus far applied, noted however, that the modalities for the holding of the by-elections are being worked out.

He also revealed that some proposal to effectively govern the by-elections are being made and that as soon as such a "complete" his commission would submit same to the Legisla-

ture for the proper legislative enactment.

Hon. Randolph pointed out however, that the modalities and proposals referred to are being worked out in accordance with the constitutional provisions which empower the ECOM to supervise and administer all elections in the country.

He also disclosed that no political party has yet sent names of candidates

to stand in the forthcoming legislative by-election aimed at filling the six seats from Lofa, Nimba, Margibi and Montserrat Counties.

Hon. Randolph was quick to noted that the proposals in planning the ensuing elections could take about two to three weeks, noting that "proposals are not a panacea in themselves".

He assured that the timetable for the by-elections would be released to the

public as soon as the applicants are reviewed and those eligible qualified.

"We shall inform the public of the names of those qualified for the elections as soon as we complete the review of applicants," he said.

Mr. Randolph noted that when the qualification process is over, the Election Commission would then go through the required registration process in accordance with

the election laws and guidelines and all other relevant and appropriate guidelines of the commission as directed under the constitution.

It may be recalled that six seats were declared vacant recently by the refusal of some of candidates-elect to take their seats for what they called "irregularities" during the November 15, 1986 general elections.

/9317

CSO: 3400/1712

## REOPENED PRIVATE SCHOOLS DISRUPTED BY ANONYMOUS PHONE CALLS

Monrovia DAILY STAR in English 25 Apr 86 pp 1, 7

[Text]

Normal classes in several private schools around Monrovia were disrupted yesterday following an anonymous telephone call.

The anonymous call was reportedly made to the authorities of St. Teresa's Convent in Monrovia warning that should they fail to call off classes and send their students home, the school would be burnt down.

The call coming in the wake of rumours that private schools may become victims of arson if they continue to operate while MCSS schools remained closed, startled the Convent authorities, and immediately news went out that classes had been called off.

By the time our reporters rushed to the Convent to find out what was causing the pandemonium, they were informed that other sister Catholic schools had called off classes.

At Cathedral High School on Ashmun Street, our reporters saw students rushing out of the campus. The Principal of the school, Mr. Steven Thomas however told our team that he had not called off classes.

Mr. Thomas said that while students were observing their normal recess period, some students from the St. Teresa's Convent went on the campus of Cathedral and reportedly informed their friends there that classes

at the Convent had been called off due to an anonymous phone call.

He said that as soon as the message reached the students, they began leaving the campus, perhaps in fear of their lives, being aware of the recent March 18 student demonstration in Monrovia.

At the College of West Africa, where classes were also disrupted, the President of the school, Mrs. Carnestine F. Smith, told our reporters that she

got to know of the anonymous call when "someone" walked into her office and informed her that the principals of St. Teresa's Convent and Cathedral had received an anonymous telephone call in the morning threatening to take action against their schools.

Mrs. Smith noted that in order to avoid any embarrassment to her students, the school authorities decided to call off classes and send the students home. She then added that the school authorities intend to hold a meeting with parents of students of CWA today to discuss important matters affecting the school and their children.

Mrs. Smith then appealed to the government to come out with some measures which will solve the problems of the MCSS teachers so that classes may resume in public schools alongside private schools.

At the Haywood Mission School on the Old Road where normal classes were also disrupted, the Principal and Director, Rev. Leo Simpson, suggested that private schools should remain closed until the issue of the MCSS schools is resolved.

He said that in the face of rumours that classes in private schools will be disrupted until the MCSS issue is resolved,

to conduct classes in private schools could endanger the safety of those schools and their students.

At Samford Dennis High School where classes were affected, the Principal, Mr. Richard Y. Nyenuh, called on heads of private institutions to come together and find some means by which they could help solve the problem facing public schools and the entire educational system.

When our reporters visited the B.W. Harris Episcopal High School on Broad Street, they found the campus deserted, and at Wells Hairston, classes were said to be going slowly.

/9317

CSO: 3400/1712

## NEW GERMAN ENVOY PRESENTS CREDENTIALS, DISCUSSES ASSISTANCE

Monrovia DAILY STAR in English 23 Apr 86 pp 1, 7

[Text]

The new Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany accredited to Liberia, Mr. Herr Christian Nakonz, yesterday presented his letters of credence to President Samuel K. Doe at the Executive Mansion in Monrovia.

In his letters of credence to President Doe, Ambassador Nakonz said that he deemed it a special distinction that the Federal President has entrusted him with the office as Ambassador. He said his primary task will be to nurture and develop the traditional friendly relations between both countries in a spirit of mutual respect.

The German Envoy said that on the 6th of January when the Second Republic

was finding its way back to parliamentary democracy, they in the Federal Republic of Germany supported Liberia from the very beginning of the transition to Constitutional rule.

Ambassador Nakonz further said that the young Second Republic however, has difficult task to master, noting that in the economic sphere new impetus must be developed and a long-term solution to the debt crisis has to be found.

He further said that the govern-

ment of Liberia should continue to encourage the policy of stabilization that it now pursues.

Ambassador Nakonz who replaces Ambassador Fraundt then promised his country's continued support to Liberia through multilateral donor organizations to help achieve the objectives of independence and self-sustaining economic development.

The German Ambassador noted that co-operation with Liberia is not confined to the field of development adding, as members of the United Nations and its subordinated agencies, Liberia and the Federal Republic

of Germany recognize and support the fundamental calls made by the countries of the Third World for independence and non-alignment.

Ambassador Nakonz later used the occasion to inform President Doe that his government is following with interest and good will, the efforts undertaken by Liberia within the organization of African Unity, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Mano River Union.

For his part, the President of the Republic of Liberia, Dr. Samuel K. Doe, praised the German Government for her continued support to Liberia in the fields

of agriculture and rural development.

Dr. Doe then reminded the German diplomat that Liberia and Germany are equally dedicated to promoting, through positive action, those endeavors which advance the cause of peace, freedom and human dignity in our world.

President Doe also lauded the German Government for its material and moral support during the transition to constitutional and presidential democracy.

He further said "German assistance in the areas of agriculture, rural development, training and other sectors of the

economy are also noteworthy".

President Doe concluded by saying "while the government of Liberia adheres to the underlining principles governing regional and international organizations and affirms the usefulness of such organizations as avenues to promote peace and security and achieve the objectives of sustained economic growth and development, the Republic of Liberia also believe in the working effectiveness of bilateral arrangements and looks forward to even closer working relations with the federal Republic of Germany.

/9317

CSO: 3400/1711

## LIBERIA

### BRIEFS

MEDICAL DOCTORS CONTINUE STRIKE--Monrovia, 9 May (AFP)--Doctors at John F. Kennedy Hospital, the largest public hospital in Liberia, continued their strike action which began on 29 April in demand for payment of salary arrears. According to the government-owned newspaper, NEW LIBERIAN, many patients were removed from the hospital by their relatives because there was no medical care due to the strike action. [Text] [Paris AFP in French 1633 GMT 9 May 86 AB] /8918

CSO: 3400/1662

## OFFICERS RECEIVE TRAINING IN ZIMBABWE FROM BRITISH TEAM

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 5 May 86 p 12

[Article by Robin Drew]

[Text]

NYANGA (Zimbabwe) — Regimental Sergeant-Major Barry Smith of the Coldstream Guards barked one last order and handed over command of the parade to Lieutenant Viriato Macave of the Mozambique army.

Arms swinging shoulder-high in the best Guards tradition, the 48 officers in their Eastern bloc camouflage marched past the saluting dais erected in the bush.

It was a unique passing out parade at the end of a 12-week course during which a seven-strong British army contingent led by Lieutenant-Colonel Tom Blackford of the 7th Gurkha Rifles had done its best to instil the basics of infantry tactics into the first batch of officers from Mozambique to undergo the course.

Taking the salute was the commander of the British Military Advisory and Training Team in Zimbabwe (BMATT), Brigadier Bob Hodges, who told the students from President Samora Machel's guerilla-harassed force, "there are no bad soldiers, only bad officers."

By this time next year 200 officers of the Mozambique army will have been given basic training at the bush camp on Zimbabwe's border with Mozambique under an agreement reached last year between Maputo and London when President Machel asked for British help.

At this stage it is impossible to estimate what effect the training programme will have on the war which President Machel's ill-equipped army is fighting against the MNR rebels.

Sergeant-Major Smith, whose 20 years' service with the Coldstream Guards has included action in Northern Ireland and the Middle East, said "all I know is they will be going back better soldiers and better men."

## FIFTH BRIGADE

For Colonel Blackford and his small contingent, training soldiers from a Marxist country where Russians and Cubans have been among their previous instructors, it has been a challenging new experience.

The British instructors found they had to start from scratch with the first course. Many of the Mozambican officers had no knowledge of map-reading or even elementary first aid even though they had been fighting the guerilla war for years.

They were taught ambush and counter-ambush techniques and instructed in the use of their Soviet AKM rifles and RPD 60 machine-guns.

All were graded on the course with a plaque for the best student going to Lieutenant Emilio Deus whose home is in the Tete district.

"We are going back better prepared to defend our country against the armed bandits," he told newsmen who paid their first visit to "Border Camp" for the passing out parade.

The neatly-thatched mess and barrack rooms were established by the British team and built by members of the Zimbabwe people's militia on a site 27 km from the Mozambique border where previously North Korean instructors had trained Zimbabwe's tough Fifth Brigade which gained notoriety for its handling of the civilian population in the anti-dissident campaign in Matabeleland.

There was one last word for the Mozambican officers when after a bumper cold lunch and a glass or two of South African wine, they made ready to go back to war-torn Mozambique: "Keep your arms straight. It will make the Sergeant-Major happy."

/9274

CSO: 3400/1687

## BRIEFS

SWAZILAND WARNS IMMIGRANTS--Mbabane--All Mozambicans found in Swaziland will be arrested and repatriated to their own country unless they are registered refugees. This warning was given by the head of security, Assistant Commissioner Mnguni Dhlamini, as yet more illegal Mozambican immigrants continued to flood across the borders into Swaziland. Mr Dhlamini was commenting on reports that scores more Mozambicans, including large numbers of those who were recently repatriated, were illegally entering the country in the Lavumisa Lubombo district in northern Swaziland. The returning refugees claimed that they were afraid to stay in their own country "because of the fighting going on there." Mr Dhlamini said large numbers of the unemployed Mozambicans were responsible for most of the crime in Swaziland and many preferred to rely on crime rather than work. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 31 May 86 p 11] /9274

RACKETEERS CAUGHT--Four employees of the Bank of Mozambique, the country's central bank, and 15 other people were arrested after the discovery of a large-scale currency racket, a spokesman for the Mozambican security services, the SNASP, told the press on 14 April. The accused were said to have been issuing cheques in foreign currencies which they then sold to foreigners on the black market, and stealing travellers' cheques. I.O.N.--These arrests are evidence of the renewal of the fight against corruption and the black market in Mozambique. Three months ago President Samora Machel admitted in his speech to parliament that racketeers were "everywhere, even within the State apparatus" and benefitted from the complicity of "friends, relatives, policemen, security agents, inspectors, government employees and justice officials." [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 19 Apr 86 p 3] /9274

CSO: 3400/1687

# BUSINESSMAN DENIES SHIPPING ARMS TO UNITA

Windhoek THE NAMIBIAN in English 25 Apr 86 pp 1, 3

[Article by John Liebenberg]

[Text]

**MR JOE LOPES**, Director of Framma Intertrading, with wide business interests in the north of the country, spoke openly to The Namibian in an exclusive interview in his Rundu headquarters last week.

A stocky, well-built man, Lopes, whose business interests in the Kavango have generated widespread rumours ranging from arms dealing to spying activities, made it quite clear that he had granted the interview to set the record straight and put an end to persistent speculation and allegations of his fleet of large trucks being involved in sinister nocturnal activities, and photographs of the trucks featured in the media, the cargo and destinations placed in a questionable light.

Soft-spoken, his voice only raised to emphasise a point, Mr Lopes was alone in his air-conditioned office — contrary to previous press reports of armed guards and tight security.

His tightly controlled movements betraying a trace of moodiness and impatience, he said 'I am a very busy man, an extremely busy man, with no holidays ever taken, and no fishing done in the river.

'In the past ten years I have been in Rundu. I have never gone fishing once, and on a recent visit to Europe — the first in my life — I landed up buying saw blades for the saw-mill I own in Rundu, and I flew back a few days later. Never a moment to play or rest'.

Forty-eight years old, married with three children (all at university, one studying architecture, another social science, and one a teacher), Mr Lopes, dubbed in the press as 'the man of mystery', said one of his main business interests in the north was the woodmill, which he hired at the rate of R3 600 per month from the Kavango Government.

His transport company he said, was involved in mainly carrying food supplies to northern towns.

Born in Cabinda province, and resident in Angola for many years, Mr Lopes said that he had a five-year contract with the Kavango Government to fell trees, which he then sold on the South African market.

He pointed out that he would have sold the wood (kiaat, Rhodesian teak and others) in Namibian if a market existed here.

Raising his voice almost brusquely, he referred to the many stories circulating to the effect that he purchased the wood from Unita.

'These stories are true. So what? I have a pick-up point for the wood from Unita about 120 kilometres from here, and I exchange it for food and clothing'.

'I do not go into Angola at all. I receive it at the border and it is all perfectly legal.

'Reports that I carry, or supply arms for Unita are trash — the distorted views of the press'.

Answering a question as to his dealings and contact with the rebel

movement, he said he had hardly any personal contact with Unita.

He added that he did however support their cause because they were fighting 'the Communists'.

Evidence of a tempestuous nature kept tightly under control was reflected in his emphatic denial of being involved in the trading of leopard skins, tusks and diamonds from Angola.

He admitted that he had often received the offer of these articles by people from Angola, who were short of money.

'I would rather lend that person money, payable at a later stage. But I would not deal in animal skins or tusks.

'Why would I put my reputation, my business and my career in jeopardy?

'I assure you, I have sufficient other business interests to consider and worry about without having to worry about a few animal skins. The chances I would have to take are just not worth it.

His voice angry, he also denied that he had an island teeming with game.

'All lies', he said, 'I am an honest, down-to-earth businessman'.

Mr Lopes mentioned some of his business interests, including mining in Kaokoland for semi-precious stones, a garage, workshop and a bus transport to Botswana, a road construction company building a road to Kongola, a crushing plant at Bagani, and a construction company involved in the building of the rest camp at

Papua Falls for Nature Conservation.

He stressed that all these business operations had been attained by virtue of public tenders, being awarded the contracts by governments without any wheeling and dealing.

'I am an honest businessman and I just work hard enough. I don't carry rockets for Unita. I don't do half of the things people claim I do!

'I employ 120 people — who earn R20 000 a month in salaries — I pay the Kavango Administration R20 000 a month for the wood I sell. I do more for the country than most other people, especially in the line of business.

'The demand for the wood is poor, but I keep on', he said, while we drove back to his headquarters after a tour of the woodmill.

Judging from the amount of wood stockpiled there, business did seem poor on the wood market.

The interview was concluded amicably and I left, pondering whether there were other methods Mr Lopes employed to make money. But he had answered all questions fairly and honestly — even giving an explanation as to why all his trucks carried 'JHB' registrations.

'So that I do not lose the guarantees on my vehicles'.

Mr Lopes remains an enigma. But there can be no doubt that he is a rare breed of man, hardworking and motivated to succeed to the total exclusion of everything else.

/9317

CSO: 3400/1748

SOUTH AFRICA SAID TO PLAN UDI IN NAMIBIA

Windhoek THE NAMIBIAN in English 25 Apr 86 pp 1, 3

[Article by Kevin Toolis]

[Text]

**AT A CONFERENCE held in Amersfoort, Holland, Reverend Jimmy Palos of the Methodist Church in Namibia charged that South Africa was intent on bypassing Resolution 435 and implementing a unilateral declaration of independence through its installation of an interim government in the territory.**

Dutch clergy also revealed that they had been requested by the South African embassy in The Hague to sign declarations condemning Swapo and agreeing to a programme set up by the interim government before they would be allowed to visit Namibia.

The Conference was told that the express aim of South Africa in installing the interim government was to subvert UN Resolution 435 and save the National Party's skin.

Speaking at a two-day conference on Namibia organised by the Netherlands Council of Churches, Windhoek Methodist Church leader Jimmy Palos said: 'The great fear of the National Party in South Africa is that Namibia will gain its independence under Swapo and they will be accused of being weak by the white electorate and of selling out. That is their dominant reason for being in Namibia'.

Commenting on the estimated R3-million per day costs of maintaining South Africa's huge military presence in the country, Reverend Palos added: 'I am sure that South Africa would want to get out for economic reasons but it is part of South Africa's total strategy to oppose what it sees as the forces of Marxism'.

'One major concern is its support for Unita - to try to recreate the cordon sanitaire around South Africa's borders. Their highest target is to get him into power in Luanda. Or a lower goal to get him to share power there. Alternatively they want him to set up his own southern Angolan state. This would prevent Swapo from gaining military access to northern Namibia'.

Leader of a six-person delegation to the church conference, held in the Catholic Conference Centre in Amersfoort, Reverend Palos also told delegates that the installation of the interim government was a deliberate strategy to subvert UN Resolution 435.

'Militarily, the strategy is to build up and strengthen the internal forces by conscripting Namibians into the so-called SWATF. And they are using them as the bulk of the fighting force against Swapo. Politically, South Africa's aim with the interim government is to get around Resolution 435

by a sanctioned UDI of the internal parties. While they pay lip service the intention is to circumvent 435's application and a UN-approved politically elected system'.

The Dutch conference on Namibia was held in Holland on Tuesday and Wednesday of this week after seven Dutch clergy and laity were refused visas to visit Namibia for a two-week fact finding tour. According to Netherland Council of Churches General Secretary, Reverend W R van der Zee, the South African Embassy in the Hague tried to force the delegation to sign pledges critical of Swapo and to accept an interim government organised programme for their tour.

'We refused to distance ourselves from Swapo and the World Council of Churches viewpoint. And secondly we refused to accept a programme organised by the so-called government of Namibia. We said we were guests of the Namibian Council of Churches and we want to hear their point of view' Reverend van der Zee said.

Six Namibians went to Holland to brief the Dutch clergy on the situation in Namibia, and they included

Ms Ida Jimmy, former political prisoner; Anglican priest, Father Roger Key; Ms Nashilongo Elago of Namibia Women's Voice; Reverend Irwin Tjirimuje, Swapo Treasurer; delegation leader Reverend Jimmy Palos; and newspaper editor Mr Erasmus Hendjala.

A wide range of speakers and delegates from human rights groups, the Dutch churches and anti apartheid organisations attended the conference which discussed the international legal situation, the role of the churches, Swapo's policies and the work of solidarity organisations.

One speaker, international lawyer Nico Schrijver, from the Institute of Social Studies in the Hague, described South Africa's continued presence in Namibia as not only illegal, but also a fundamental breach of the UN Charter itself.

One of the conference organisers, Mr David de Beer, who was expelled from Namibia in 1972, also attacked the 'partiality' of the US State Department in its discussions with Namibian parties, including Swapo.

Members of the Dutch delegation are expected to report their findings at a later stage.

/9317

CSO: 3400/1748

## BRIEFS

**DISSIDENTS EXECUTED**—Four dissidents and a woman convicted of murdering her husband were publicly executed by firing squad in Mogadishu on 15 April. Radio Mogadishu said the four men were sentenced to death on 22 July last year by the national security court for "collectively aiding and abetting the enemy of the Somali nation by participating in acts of harming the unity and security of the Somali state." Quoting the court's attorney-general, the radio said the four had brought enemy weapons into Somalia with the purpose of "weakening the authority of the Somali state," and on being arrested they had opened fire on the security forces, killing a civilian. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 26 Apr 86 p 6] /9274

**SSDF LOANS GUERRILLAS TO LIBYA**--The Somali Salvation Democratic Front has told Tripoli it can use SSDF guerrillas now doing six months' training in Libya in its confrontation with the United States, SSDF sources in Nairobi have said, adding that it was customary to send SSDF recruits in batches of 1,500 to 2,000 (a figure which seems greatly exaggerated) to Libya every six months. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 26 Apr 86 p 6] /9274

CSO: 3400/1690

## SURVIVAL OF RULING PARTY SAID TO BE AT STAKE

Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 26 Apr 86 p 1

[Text] Less than a year from elections within Tanzania's ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi, which will doubtless enable the current head of state Ali Hassan Mwinyi to wear the party chief's hat which he currently lacks, Julius Nyerere, who for 30 years was the CCM's principal inspiration, is devoting all his time to breathing some life into what is today no more than an empty shell.

The stakes are high. In the face of the apparently irresistible rise of financial self-interest and opportunism, at the level of the man in the street as well as the entire political and administrative class, the whole ideology developed over the past three decades--self-sufficiency, socialism, equality--risks being swept away with the departure of "Mwalimu." In a speech he gave to Dar es Salaam party officials on 11 April Mr Nyerere deplored the fact that the public was frequently obliged to complain of abuses committed by the police and people's militia, and of the disdainful attitude of civil servants.

In addition to difficulties of recruitment which it is experiencing at the grassroots, while higher officials are increasingly attracted by more remunerative government posts, the party is in enormous financial difficulties in spite of the large sums which it receives from the state treasury. Up till now appeals to the membership to pay their subscriptions have been ignored, forcing the leadership to raise the dues from two shillings a month to five shillings.

The economic crisis is hitting Tanzanians hard, including the two million ordinary members of the party, but the reasons for their disaffection lies elsewhere. The increasing bureaucracy of the CCM and the ever more tenuous distinction between the party and the State have given CCM officials exorbitant powers. The ordinary citizen has developed a tendency to consider the party to be the State. Thus, when a disappearance or the theft of a car is reported in the press, those who might have information are requested to report either to the party or the police, without distinction. Recently, with the introduction of a ration system for basic products, party officials took over control of the distribution network. Everyone remarks that large quantities of goods end up on the black market, and it is more and more common to hear members of the party being criticized for aiding corruption.

These criticisms reach the ears of Julius Nyerere during his tours round the country. A month ago, in the Kilimanjaro region, 17 local secretaries of the CCM were dismissed for embezzlement of funds and lack of respect for the party constitution concerning meetings at cell and branch level. In the Siginda region, before receiving their pay, party leaders are now obliged to submit a monthly report on their activities and the amount of fees received. The city of Dar es Salaam has been accused of paying only 492,000 shillings in 1985 to build a new party headquarters in Dodoma, when it was supposed to have handed over 1.3 million.

However, in concentrating on bringing in subscriptions and gifts instead of dealing with the fundamental problems, the party leadership could well be on the road to disaster, by further increasing its political isolation.

/9274

CSO: 3400/1690

## BRIEFS

PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH CUBA--Dar es Salaam, 10 May (SHIHATA/PANA)--Tanzania and Cuba yesterday signed a protocol in Dar es Salaam under the two countries will exchange news and editorial personnel as part of a cultural (?and scientific) cooperation [word indistinct]. The protocol, [words indistinct] 1986/87 was signed by Tanzanian principal secretary in the Ministry of Community Development, Culture, Youth, and Sports, Zahra Nuru, and the Cuban ambassador to Tanzania, Luis Castillo Campos. [Excerpts] [Dakar Pana in English 1641 GMT 10 May 86 EA] /12232

CSO: 3400/1688

# NATION WON'T BE BOUGHT WITH AID, SAYS FOREIGN MINISTER

Harare THE HERALD in English 15 Apr 86 p 1

[Text]

**ZIMBABWE will always remain grateful for aid from the United States but such aid will not alter its stand on any issue, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Witness Mangwende, said yesterday.**

He was speaking at a farewell lunch he hosted for the outgoing US Ambassador, Mr David Miller, who is leaving the diplomatic service.

Although Cde Mangwende said the amount of aid given would never alter Zimbabwe's stance, Mr Miller later said he would ask the US government to "reconsider its aid to Zimbabwe" but denied that he was recommending a total withdrawal of aid as some US news reports had suggested recently.

Cde Mangwende told the guests: "The provision of aid does not buy principles or even votes at the United Nations, and if aid to Zimbabwe were to be cut to zero or increased 10 times, it will not change our stand."

"A billion dollars will not make us view your policy of constructive engagement or your assistance to the Unita bandits in any more kindly light," Cde Mangwende said, although thanking the US, Zimbabwe's biggest donor, for its help.

Mr Miller, a Reagan political appointee, said later it was "unfortunate to leave Zimbabwe at a time when relations with the US were not cordial". He called for more consultations in private between the US embassy and Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials.

Recent accusations by some senior Zimbabwe ministers had caused much concern in the US. The reports that the Central Intelligence Agency was sponsoring bandits in Matabeleland and the clandestine Radio Truth in South Africa were "preposterous" and had no base, said Mr Miller.

"We wish there could be more consultations with us before making public accusations. We feel we could be in a far better position to explain our foreign policy."

The US embassy had made representations to the Government, but no public statement had been made, he said.

Cde Mangwende said it was important for Zimbabwe's friends or even enemies to respect its point of view, even if they differed with it. "We ask for nothing more than honesty, openness and above all respect, which we have offered and continue to offer."

## Accused

"Some, of course, have accused us of being arrogant or standoffish: demonstrably ungrateful for assistance offered and downright unfriendly in our defence or protection of that freedom," Cde Mangwende said.

"To foreign eyes, we may seem to be all of these things but I can assure you that we most certainly are not."

"For arrogant and standoffish, read cautious and wary: for we have witnessed the misfortunes of others who have opened themselves too wide, too readily and who have

become entrapped by their so-called friends, no longer their own masters, and their freedom "mere mockery."

"For ungrateful, read unwilling to deviate from our principles and our deep-rooted beliefs so as to please one or another country simply because that country is providing us with aid of some sort."

"For unfriendly," the minister said, "read natural reaction to those who would seek to force us abandon those principles which we hold dear for the sake of fleeting political or financial expediency."

At independence, Zimbabwe was prepared to view as a friend any nation which wished to be viewed as such and which was prepared to enter into a relationship based on recognition of, and respect for, its sovereignty.

Zimbabwe had not held previous lack of relationships between a country and the liberation move-

ment against that country, Cde Mangwende said.

"New relationships have flourished and for the most, have worked very well indeed simply because the basic ground rules which we laid down upon the attainment of our national sovereignty have been respected and because we have been viewed and treated as equals by those who have sought to discuss trade or otherwise with us."

But there had been occasions when these ground rules were broken and Zimbabwe had been subjected to undue and most undiplomatic pressure designed to make it sway from its chosen line and to make it fall into step with or behind views which are at variance with its own.

"Our refusal then and still now to be so bullied has led to threats, aid cuts and other unpleasant, and has resulted in ourselves being labelled ungrateful and unresponsive," he said.

/9317

CSO: 3400/1751

100,000 TONS OF MAIZE TO BE EXPORTED TO IRAN

Harare THE SUNDAY MAIL in English 4 May 86 p 1

[Text]

**ZIMBABWE is to export 100 000 tonnes of maize worth about \$13 million to Iran soon.**

The head of the four-man Iranian trade delegation which was in Zimbabwe for a week, Mr Ali Fath Ali, said his country would also purchase 100 tonnes of tea and 200 tonnes of coffee from this country within the next two months.

The delegation, which left Harare for Teheran yesterday morning, met the Minister of Trade and Commerce, Dr Oliver Munyaradzi; the Minister of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement, Cde

Moven Mahachi; officials from the Grain Marketing Board and the private sector while in Zimbabwe in an effort to strengthen trade links between the two countries.

Mr Ali was speaking at a Press conference held at the Iranian Embassy in Harare where he also stated that another delegation for the purchase of asbestos, steel, tobacco, beef and hides would soon visit Zimbabwe.

"Iran," he said, "with a population of about 45 million needs one million tonnes of maize a year and 30 000 tonnes of tea, and likewise sugar, of which the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran wants to purchase from Zimbabwe as much as is possible."

/9317

CSO: 3400/1751

# PRIME MINISTER URGES UNIONS TO PROTECT ALL WORKERS

Harare THE HERALD in English 3 May 86 pp 4, 5

["Text" of speech by Prime Minister to workers at Rufaro Stadium to mark May Day celebrations]

[Text]

OUR Workers' Day is here again, and I wish to join the ZCTU and its sister unions in welcoming you to this important event organised in commemoration of it. This year's May Day is particularly significant as it coincides with the Centenary of the International Labour Day. In joining in brotherhood and solidarity with the millions of workers the world over in celebrating this very important anniversary, we pay our tribute to the workers' struggles for a society free of exploitation of man by man. We recognise, too, the historic role of the working class not only in this struggle, but in creating the wealth of nations.

It is thus fitting that, all over the world today, progressive forces are seriously reflecting upon the role of the working class in society in general and the economy in particular. Similarly, we in Zimbabwe are gathered here today to express our deep and everlasting solidarity with the workers of Zimbabwe and in so doing with the world working class.

I need not remind you that my party, Zanu (PF), is irrevocably committed to the cause of the working class. As a result of our deep and clear commitment to scientific socialism based upon Marxist-Leninist principles, we believe, very firmly, in the centrality of the worker in our society.

We are convinced and believe that the workers should play a central role both in the period of the transition to socialism and after its attainment. This is a cardinal principle which we adopted during our revolutionary armed struggle against colonial capitalism and the reactionary white rule.

## DETERMINED

We are therefore determined to ensure that we create propitious conditions under which the worker can contribute effectively to the development of our country. More importantly, we are equally determined to continuously and resolutely improve the social and material conditions of the workers so that they can fully enjoy the fruits of independence.

It is now a truism that since 1980 my party, through the machinery of Government, has worked tirelessly to strengthen the labour movement in the country to facilitate the assumption of its rightful place in society.

Acutely and consciously aware that in our thrust towards a socialist society the working class should, along with the peasants and other progressive sections of our society, be champions of the revolution, the party has committed itself to the growth and development of the working class.

I take this opportunity to thank you, the workers of Zimbabwe, for the solid vote of confidence you expressed in Zanu during the last elections.

I give you the full pledge that we shall not fail you. We shall continue to work for your development and prosperity. I am sure you are aware that, as a people's Government, we have done a number of things of which the following are only illustrative examples:

As a matter of principle, we encouraged and promoted the formation

of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions so that the workers could be represented and united under an ideologically clear and worker-oriented Trade Union.

Conscious of the need and committed to the principles of democracy at the work place, the Government institutionalised the concept of Workers' Committees to facilitate worker-based decision-making.

Equally, the practice of Workers' Committees has enabled a measure of transfer of power to the workers so that they now play a more effective and recognisable role in the society and the economy.

### ATMOSPHERE

This development has created an appropriate atmosphere for effective and smooth communication between workers and management.

Government will, of course, further make determined efforts to establish strong industrial democracy through self-management in industry and commerce through participation and formation of co-operatives.

Appropriate legal institutionalisation of this policy has been amply provided for under the Labour Relations Act with which you are all familiar, making statutory provision for the formation of Workers' Committees and giving the first option to workers to acquire enterprises in case the owner wishes to sell.

To promote worker education, the Government has, through education, workshops and seminars, greatly reduced accident rates at places of work. Government will intensify training in this area, and also in the area of worker-consciousness.

Apart from the above, Government has vigorously made efforts to transform legal instruments relating to labour, so that these are congruent with the new socio-economic system and political order.

Immediately after independence, the Party, through Government, did away with such obnoxious pieces of legislation as the Master and Servant Act, the African Juveniles Act and the African Labour Recruitment Act, while at the same time amending the Industrial Conciliation Act and making provision for industrial holidays for all categories of workers, without any loss of wages.

By the same token, any work performed during industrial holidays was to be compensated for. Equally important, the Employment Act (1980) stipulated the general conditions of employment including hours of work, sick benefits, and procedures for dismissals.

The Minimum Wages Act provided for statutory minimum wages for the first time and went a long way in ameliorating what was the semi-slave status of the workers. But perhaps the most significant progressive development in labour legislation is the Labour Relations Act which not only recognises the centrality of the worker in production and society, but seeks to institutionalise our broad policy objectives and aspirations.

Let me, therefore, briefly outline the salient features of that Act which we consider to be an important legal instrument during the transition to socialism.

In view of the fact that the worker has been historically disadvantaged and placed in a weak position, the Act will enable Government to promote and uphold the principle of collective bargaining between the workers and employers.

Secondly, in line with our strong belief in equality between citizens of Zimbabwe, the Act prohibits all forms of primitive, negative and subjective discriminatory practices based on race, colour, tribe, religion and sex. This provision con-

fers on all Zimbabweans the right to equal opportunity and access to employment, jobs and occupations.

### COLONIAL

Thirdly, unlike the position which obtained during the colonial era, the Act recognises domestic and agricultural workers as part of the labour force.

Finally, the Act effectively removes the fragmentary nature of representation that existed before as it related to both employers and employees. Government strongly believes in the principle of "horizontal" as opposed to "vertical" representation.

It is in this context that I wish to reiterate my party and Government's conviction that unity in the labour movement is an important cornerstone in laying a strong foundation for socialism. I wish, equally, to urge the ZCTU and its affiliate unions to work tirelessly to foster unity among the workers.

The initiative to build strong and viable industrial unions with a greater bargaining and membership base lies squarely on your shoulders. Government will, of course, continue to assist in whatever way it can to ensure that the ZCTU becomes a truly workers' organisation capable of articulating, protecting and defending the interests of the working class.

The importance of unity is underlined by the fact that until only recently the ZCTU was bedevilled by serious internal problems of an organisational nature.

It is to be hoped that those problems are a thing of the past and equally that you drew lessons from that occurrence. That you emerged from the problems stronger is probably a sign of the maturity of the workers of this country.

## SATISFACTION

Let me, therefore, express our sincere satisfaction at the general improvement in the performance of your organisation. It is important that the ZCTU continue to improve its methods and style of work so that it can resolutely champion the rights of the working class of our country. In particular, I enjoin the ZCTU to undertake seriously its most important function which is the creation of a cadreship of dedicated frontline fighters for socialism and the removal of exploitation of man by man.

Consequently, the ZCTU must intensify its recruitment campaign, raise the consciousness of workers and consistently infuse ideological clarity among its membership and the workers in general. I must particularly emphasise that to contribute to and be part of the socialist endeavour, the trade union movement must go beyond purely economic issues to the broader political issues.

Similarly, the ZCTU must be development-oriented and become part and parcel of our socialist aspirations. I also hope that when the Labour College is operational, it will be possible to enhance not only the political and ideological levels of the workers but also their skills levels so that they are able to contribute to our development.

Government will, naturally, continue to place singular emphasis on training through technical colleges, vocational training centres and apprenticeship schemes.

While we note with satisfaction that the workers' committees and workers' councils are now being gradually accepted as useful vehicles at the shop floor level, efforts must be made to clearly rationalise the relationship between these and the trade unions.

Let me now turn to the general performance of the economy and the role that workers played specifically. I must register my Government's appreciation of the commendable performance of the workers in all our socio-economic sectors resulting in the measure of economic success we have attained. The products displayed here and at the current International Trade Fair in Bulawayo bear ample and loud testimony to your assiduous spirit of work which has manifested itself in the increased performance of our economy.

The agricultural workers have, through their labour, been responsible for bumper harvests of maize, tobacco, cotton and, indeed, all other crops. I want to urge you to continue this good work. The manufacturing sector, too, performed well as a result of the labour of the worker.

General output in all the industrial sub-sectors increased, and this is encouraging. The same picture is found in the mining sector where, despite the depressed international markets, metal output rose by an average 10 percent.

It was in clear recognition of the role that the workers have played in our economy that the Government is considering to award wage increases to them. The exact details of these wage increases will be announced in due course by Government. However, in our decision, we shall take into account the need to maintain the economic growth momentum of last year.

## ATTENTION

The role of the worker in our developmental process has been given serious attention in the Five-Year National Development Plan. Under Part II of Volume I of the Plan, we specifically stipulate, as one of the six objectives of the Plan, "the enlargement of employment opportunities

and manpower development".

Accordingly, under the Plan, we shall endeavour to create additional employment opportunities with a view to providing the majority of our able-bodied citizens with gainful employment.

On the other hand, we shall, as much as possible, work to promote the development of the country's human resources through programmes of education and training, complemented by other programmes intended to raise workers' consciousness of their role in socio-economic development.

The social security and welfare of the worker is, indeed, a paramount issue to Government and we plan seriously to introduce a National Security Scheme within the

operational context of the Five-Year Plan. The scheme will provide both long-term benefits of retirement, survivors and invalidity as well as some short-term benefits. To enhance the field of social welfare, we intend to expand rehabilitation centres, paying special attention to vocational and technical education for the disabled.

These and other endeavours by Government to improve the status and condition of the worker should be reciprocated by the worker himself, who should be prepared to sustain a high level of performance wherever he is and whatever the job he is assigned to perform.

I, therefore, earnestly exhort you not to sit on your laurels. Our outstanding performance of the past should spur us on so we can continue to excel and attain even greater heights in the future. We must, thus, not be complacent even for a single moment.

Our motto should be to work even harder than before so that we can achieve self-reliance and self-sufficiency, without which we shall become

vulnerable and susceptible to blackmail and manipulation by others.

Our determination to reduce our economic dependence is made urgent by the geo-political circumstances in which we find ourselves especially in relation to the apartheid regime in South Africa. As you are well aware, the regime has been engaged in unprovoked activities to disrupt our economic lifelines.

It is realistic to expect that as the liberation struggle inside South Africa intensifies and advances, the regime there will in fact resort to much more desperate destabilisation acts against us. It is, therefore, important for us to remain vigilant as a nation, and one way of doing it is to strengthen our economic base.

I wish, at this stage, to reaffirm our solidarity with the oppressed and fighting workers and masses of South Africa,

and reiterate Zimbabwe's full support for their just struggles against apartheid. It is our belief that the eradication of apartheid and the liberation of Namibia and South Africa will create conditions conducive to the greater growth and development of our economy and society.

We, therefore, salute and stand by the gallant sons and daughters of South Africa and Namibia at this important hour in their struggle. Equally, we also salute the gallant Palestinian people who, under the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, are struggling for a homeland against Zionist racism and terrorism.

Finally, let me thank you for a year of hard work, whose results, as already stated, have been marvellous. Continue to work even harder so that together we can achieve our national objectives.

/9317

CSO: 3400/1751

THREE REMOVED FROM POLITBURO, TRIBALISM REPORTED

Ushewokunze, Hove, Ziyambe Fired

Harare THE SUNDAY MAIL in English 13 Apr 86 p 1

[Text] Cde Herbert Ushewokunze, Cde Byron Hove and Cde Tarisai Ziyambi have been removed from their posts in Zanu (PF) following a two-day Central Committee meeting of the ruling party which ended in Harare yesterday.

The meeting was chaired by the First Secretary and President of the party, Cde Mugabe.

A statement released after the meeting yesterday by the Zanu (PF) secretary for information and publicity, Cde Nathan Shamuyarira, said Cde Ushewokunze was removed from his post as the party's secretary for the commissariat and culture by Cde Mugabe and his deputy, Cde Simon Muzenda.

"After full debate in the central committee, the President and his deputy, Cde Simon V. Muzenda, decided to remove Cde Ushewokunze from the Politburo and the post of secretary of the department of commissariat and culture. But he remains a member of the central committee," Cde Shamuyarira said in his statement.

The action to remove Cde Ushewokunze from his Politburo post was taken by the President and his deputy because the central committee of the party does not have the power to remove a member from the Politburo.

Cde Shamuyarira said: "The central committee decided that Cde Byron Hove be removed from the position of secretary of the Midlands Province, and his parliamentary seat of Gokwe. He remains a member of the party."

Describing the two-day meeting as "successful" he said among other items on the six-point agenda the central committee discussed the report of the disciplinary committee on provincial officials who had been suspended from their positions in June last year.

"It was decided to remove Cde Frank T. Ziyambi from the position of treasurer of the Midlands Province and from the central committee for embezzling party funds."

Cde Shamuyarira said the Leadership Code had also come under discussion by the central committee.

He said the central committee discussed the heated debate which took place in Parliament over the last three weeks and "especially the behaviour of some of its members."

Cde Shamuyarira said the central committee felt that Cde Byron Hove "had erred by using the platform of Parliament to provoke personal quarrels among party members, and by launching a bitter personal attack on a senior member of his party, Cde Ushewokunze."

"The central committee also felt that Cde H. Ushewokunze's reply had gone beyond personal matters raised by Cde Byron Hove to introduce issues which he knew to be divisive and subjective. Some of the tribal allegations he made are highly subjective and unfounded.

"Central committee members were pleased that he apologised to them and withdrew the offending statement."

#### Evidence of Tribalism Seen

East London DAILY DISPATCH in English 23 Apr 86 p 3

[Article by John Griffiths]

[Text]

Tribalism, which the Africa experts say is equivalent to racism, is openly rearing its ugly head again in Zimbabwe.

For a decade since the bloody "Nhari rebellion" which tore the ranks of his party during its pre-independence guerilla struggle, Mr Robert Mugabe has tried to eradicate the traditional mistrust between the Zezuru, Manica and Karanga sections of the Shona "language group", quite apart from confronting the problem of hostility between the Shona and the Ndebele, which lies at the root of the present division between Mr Mugabe's ruling Zanu(PF) and Mr Joshua Nkomo's Zapu. Part of his policy since independence has been to place a virtual taboo on all discussion of ethnic problems (except suspected instances of white racism, for which it has always been open season).

After a marathon Zanu(PF) Central Committee meeting on April 10-12, Mr Mugabe dismissed his controversial Minister of Transport, Dr Herbert Ushewokunze, from his prestigious position in the elite 15-member "inner cabinet", the Politburo, for having revived public animosity between the Zezurus (to which he and Mr Mugabe both belong) and the Karanga people of South-Eastern Zimbabwe. At the time of writing it is not known whether Dr Ushewokunze will keep his position as Minister of Transport, or whether he faces any further disciplinary action over alleged "collu-

sion" with the perpetrators of a R600 000 railway housing fraud exposed by a parliamentary committee.

If Dr Ushewokunze retains his cabinet post, his main critics — who happen to be Karangas — will have emerged from the episode far worse than the Fort Hare trained doctor.

Students of African constitutional law may be intrigued by the announcement that Dr Ushewokunze's principal accuser in parliament, Mr Byron Hove, has been dismissed as an MP for the manner in which he conducted his attack on someone who outranked him in the Zanu(PF) party hierarchy. How Mr Hove, a highly articulate British-trained lawyer, can be forced to vacate his seat in the House of Assembly if he is unwilling to comply with his edict remains an intriguing aspect of the Zanu(PF) internal disciplinary code. Under the 1980 Lancaster House Constitution there is no strictly legal way he can be expelled.

Zimbabwean tribal politics are bewilderingly complex for the outsider, but three points arising from this affair are worthy of note for South Africans.

Firstly, Mr Mugabe appears to be well aware of the danger that his administration will come to be seen by ordinary Zimbabweans as a "Zezuru" government (the Zezurus come from the areas of northern Mashonaland around Harare and were

thus the first to benefit by, and to suffer from, the consequences of white intrusion after 1890). A coalition of Zezurus, Manicas and Karangas, with token representatives of the Ndebeles, whites, coloureds and Asians, can govern securely for the foreseeable future, so the feeling goes. But a "Zezuru" government, with token Karangas and Manicas who lack popular backing in their home areas, would be in a very precarious position indeed. Zimbabwe's huge, indefensible border with war-torn Mozambique offers sinister opportunities to any underground opposition.

Secondly, the episode demonstrates why African leaders turn to Marxist-Leninism as an ideological alternative to the bonds of ethnic identity. It is the only alternative, Mr Mugabe would contend. "Socialism", which means exactly what the rulers want it to mean, can rationalise the cohesion of a collection of peoples from very different ethnic backgrounds. It also provides a moral justification for all sorts of forms of coercion perpetrated by the rulers against internal and external opponents. The danger with this is that comparatively simple ethnic problems tend to re-emerge in complicated ideological forms. If Tribe A is pro-Moscow, its traditional enemies tribes B and C become bigotted Trotskyites. Christianity has had its full share of this kind of doctrinal conflict over the past 2000 years — as Christ predicted it would.

There is a third aspect of tribalism in Zimbabwe which is gravely ominous both for this country and for South Africa.

It seems at the moment that the Shona majority in Zimbabwe, comprising over 70 per cent of the population, is securely entrenched in power for all time if only it remains united under its leaders. Forty years ago the whites were just as complacent about the permanence of their power.

Forty years hence Southern Africa will be a very different place from the sub-continent we take for granted today.

In South Africa we are bound to see black people brought into the process of formulating foreign policy, whether by evolution or revolution. And since the Nguni peoples — Xhosas, Zulus, Swazis, Ndebeles and related tribes — together form a majority in your country it is to be expected that Ngunis will play a major role in deciding that policy.

Whether they are Ngunis like Chief Buthelezi or Ngunis like Nelson Mandela, they will be faced with a temptation — perhaps a compulsion — to make the treatment of Ngunis outside South Africa (or will it be called Azania?) an emotive issue in domestic politics. Whether South Africa remains a unitary state, becomes a "constellation of states", or Balkanises into innumerable political units, future black policy makers south of the Limpopo may be forced to try and hold their followers together by introducing a note of aggressive "Nguni nationalism", respectably disguised in modern ideological robes.

There is no doubt in present day Zimbabwe that Mr Nkomo, now feeling his age at 67, wants to see the people of Matabeleland reach a lasting accommodation with the Shonas. But there is an extreme Zapu element — in reality an extreme Ndebele element — who, when they are not dreaming of a breakaway "Republic of Mtwakazi" hanker for revenge on the Shona in the form of the eventual annexation of Zimbabwe to an Nguni-dominated Azania. Thus, from being an unassailable 70 per cent majority in Zimbabwe, the Shona would find themselves reduced to being just another minority in the overall context of Southern Africa.

With the dear-bought wisdom of hindsight the leaders of white Rhodesian nationalism in this country now regret the arrogance they and their forebears showed 40-50 years ago when they assumed that, having "won" the First and Second World Wars, Britain would maintain a white-dominated empire in Africa indefinitely. Privately, they now admit the mistake of the earliest white settler governments in not hastening, while there was time, to build institutions in which whites, Shonas and Ndebeles could all voluntarily put their trust. White leaders felt they were doing what was best for the other ethnic groups, but they believed business could always be conducted on their terms.

Today the Shona nationalists in Mr Mugabe's Zanu(PF) do not seem to realise that with the pace of change in South Africa they may have considerably less than 40 years in which to build institutions in which all Zimbabwean ethnic groups can voluntarily place their trust. They may not always be able to treat members of "minority parties" on their own terms.

Apartheid is said to be a time bomb ticking away next door to us. The whole complicated tangle of ethnicity in our powerful southern neighbour will have to be unravelled before we can relax in safety.

## Hove Resigns Parliamentary Seat

Harare THE HERALD in English 15 Apr 86 p 1

[Text]

THE Zanu (PF) Member of Parliament for Gokwe East, Cde Byron Hove, yesterday resigned his parliamentary seat, the secretary of publicity and information Cde Nathan Shamuyarira, said.

Cde Shamuyarira, who is the Minister of Information, Posts and Telecommunications, said Cde Hove had been asked by the party to resign and had complied.

Cde Hove was dismissed from his post as provincial party secretary for the Midlands and his parliamentary post by the Zanu (PF) Central Committee at the weekend.

Meanwhile, the secretary for administration, Cde Maurice Nyagumbo, is to act as the party's secretary for the commissariat and culture following the dismissal of Cde Herbert Ushewokunze.

In an interview with the BBC last night, Cde Hove was asked if he

thought he had got a "raw deal" considering that he had been thrown out of Parliament as well as his party post.

Cde Hove said it was "neither here nor there" and that he was duty-bound to accept the party decision. He had been elected on a Zanu (PF) ticket and now that the party had decided he should leave Parliament he believed he should go.

But he did believe he had been treated unfairly.

He did not regard Cde Ushewokunze as his rival, but he had no great regard for him and found him "intolerable in the way he does things". Cde Hove said he had written to the Prime Minister, Cde Mugabe, "pointing out a number of inconsistencies". But he did not elaborate.

Cde Hove is the first Zimbabwean MP ever to resign because his party wished him to do so.

/9317

CSO: 3400/1751

VILJOEN DISCUSSES PROBLEMS OF BLACK EDUCATION

Wishes To Appoint Black As Head

MB021330 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1305 GMT 2 May 86

[Text] House of Representatives, May 2, SAPA--It was an urgent goal of the government's reform programme to put the responsibility for black education into the hands of a black political decision maker, the minister of education and training, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said today.

Replying to debate on his budget vote, he said it was his greatest wish to hand over his responsibilities to such a person.

There was no policy limiting the promotion of blacks within the department and particular trouble was taken to identify black staff members suitable for more senior management positions.

Referring to a statement by Mr Godfrey Leeuw (LP [Labor Party Southern] Freed State) that separate education could not be equal education, Dr Viljoen said that simply opening or integrating schools "won't solve our basic development problems."

Problems in South Africa's black and coloured schools were the same as those in developing countries throughout the world.

South American education studies recommended that large amounts of money not be given to a community for education unless it had the ability to use the money properly.

South Africa had to spend more money on education, and spend it fairly, scientifically and effectively.

The solution to the problem lay not in integration but in more schools, more equipment, more equitable pupil-classroom ratios, and more and better-qualified teachers.

In this way, the goal could be reached, he said.

He realised that the problems in black education would not be solved unless the political problems were tackled first.

It was for this reason that he and his government were committed to efforts to give the black man a fairer share in the political dispensation in South Africa.

The time for one-sided decisions had long gone. A new dispensation would have to be the result of dialogue and negotiation.

Dr Viljoen said his department was "fully prepared" to negotiate with local interest groups on the formation of liaison bodies on which parents, teachers and students were all represented.

The department accepted the need for SRCS [Student Representative Council], but would not allow them to run schools.

"We can't have young people who still need education taking over the management of schools. If they were able to do this, they would not need education."

Dr Viljoen also said the African Teachers Association of South Africa [ATASA] was a "very important part" of the education process.

The department had understanding of the pressures the body was experiencing. While ATASA had suspended relations with the department, it was hoped it would be possible in future and in the light of the government's reform programme, to resume close cooperation.

#### Black School Attendance Improving

MB071757 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1338 GMT 7 May 86

[Text] House of Assembly, May 7, SAPA--The "unfavorable pattern of attendance" at black schools due to unrest had stabilised since March and shown a positive improvement up to now, the minister of education and development aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said today.

Opening debate on his budget allocation, he said the department of Education and Training [DET] had about 7,400 schools under its control, of which 7,000 were primary and 330 secondary.

Of these, boycotts and unrest had taken place at between 300 and 450 schools but this number had dropped off to about 210 institutions by the beginning of May.

"This is still too much, but it is a positive trend...and it should still improve," Dr Viljoen said.

Of those pupils who had been given the opportunity last year to write examinations later, due to the disruption caused by the township unrest, about 80 per cent had sat.

This was also most encouraging.

Dr Viljoen said the DETS first priority was to get those pupils who attended school to stay and to encourage those who were boycotting to come back. This would play a positive role in restabilising black education and the black communities which had been disrupted by unrest.

To ensure an orderly, efficient, education programme, officials and teaching staff had been directed to "nip in the bud" any revolutionary activities at schools or attempts to disrupt classes.

At the same time however he wanted to pay tribute to the officials and teachers for their efforts to improve relations with the black communities and pupils in an attempt to identify problems and find solutions.

White indiscipline and undermining activities would not be tolerated, the DET acted with the utmost circumspection when problems arose.

Dr Viljoen said another encouraging sign was that the faction in black communities which believed education should continue and not be disrupted was gaining strength at the expense of those who were influenced by revolutionaries the ridiculousness of the slogan "liberation before education."

As he had in the other two houses when his vote came up for debate, Dr Viljoen said he wanted to emphasize the "ghost" of the Verwoerdian Era, in which black education was perceived as something that should be inferior and not provide access for blacks to white collar jobs in a sophisticated Western industrialised society, was gone.

#### Verwoerdian Education Policy Not Applied

MB020958 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0941 GMT 2 May 86

[Text] House of Representatives, May 2, SAPA--Dr Verwoerd's "Restrictive Interpretation" of the function of black education was obsolete and had not been applied for years, the minister of education and development aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said today.

Opening the debate on his budget vote, he said he wanted to "expressly distance" himself from particular aspects of Dr Verwoerd's approach, among them the view that the black should not be educated to believe that he was "above his own people" or that his home was "among the civilised community of South Africa, namely the whites."

Dr Viljoen said he had been asked by the chairman and the executive committee of the Council for Education and Training to take a clear stand on "certain restrictions" placed on black education by Dr Verwoerd in 1953 and 1954.

This was the time that the then Bantu Education Act was accepted.

As the council was his department's highest expert education body and was composed of broadly representative black education leaders, he regarded the request with particular seriousness.

There should in fact be no doubt at this stage over the matter.

There had been repeated assurances from, among others, the state president, that the government had committed itself to equal education opportunities and equal teaching standards for all inhabitants of the republic regardless of sex, race, faith or colour.

The government had also established a central department of national education to ensure a uniform education policy for all departments and races.

In addition, the principle of equal education opportunities had been established in law as one of the principles of the National Policy of General Education Affairs Act of 1984.

Unfortunately it was a fact that certain statements by Dr Verwoerd in 1953 and 1954 were still drifting around like a phantom to undermine confidence in the department as also the government's approach and attitude to black education.

"I now want to unequivocally remove all possible uncertainties over those statements," said Dr Viljoen.

"Dr Vervoerd criticised certain aspect of the system of black education as it was at that time and labelled it as unacceptable. He gave notice that it would be done away with in what was then the new Bantu education system.

"In a speech of June 7, 1954 before the senate Dr Verwoerd said in particular he was opposed to education for blacks that simply blindly produces pupils on the European model and in so doing creates the idle expectation that they could fill posts within the white community, that this lead to the unhealthy creation of white-collar ideals and widespread frustration among the so-called educated natives, and that it created a class of person who has learned to believe that he is above his own people and that his spiritual, economic and political home is therefore among the civilised community of South Africa, namely the whites."

Dr Viljoen said Dr Verwoerd's policy had contained certain positive elements as well.

"But I want to state unequivocally that the approach as reflected by the discredited statement of Dr Verwoerd that I have just quoted has not been applied for many years and in no ways reflects the approach of the Department of Education and Training or of other departments responsible for education for blacks.

"I also want to expressly distance myself from those standpoints."

Education for each community should naturally reflect and further the culture and values of that community.

But education for blacks, as for all groups in South Africa, should also be modelled on the social reality of the modern industrialised and urbanised existence, with its strong Western influence.

"It has to make provision, adequate provision, for white collar professions, for training as well as educated people, of modern, sophisticated black people who are necessary for South Africa, for work opportunities for all in large interdependent economy and labour market of South Africa, and absorption into a civilised community, a modern and sophisticated South Africa, in which all population groups share and not only the whites.

"There is not talk of an inferior or watered-down education programme for blacks; there is no limitation or ceiling in regard to directions of study for blacks," he said.

#### Private School Subsidy Discussed

MB021001 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0901 GMT 2 May 86

[Text] House of Representatives, May 2, SAPA--More than R3.8 million of the 1986/7 budget was to be used to subsidise black private schools, the government had decided, Dr Gerrit Viljoen said today.

Announcing this at the start of debate on his budget vote, he said that last year there had been 12 private secondary and 48 private primary schools with 3,676 and 13,406 pupils, respectively, that were registered with the Department of Education and Training.

The National Policy for General Education Affairs Act provided for establishing private education and its subsidisation.

A departmental committee investigation into criteria and conditions for private schools registered with the department had made submissions.

"I am pleased to report that within the framework of national policy, the government has accepted the recommendations of this committee," Dr Viljoen said.

Private schools would qualify for subsidy scales of the average recurring cost per pupil to the department of 45 per cent, 15 per cent or nothing. The percentages were established by a financing formula decided by the minister of national education.

"This formula applies to all education departments."

School classifications depended on the evaluation of physical facilities, numbers the qualifications of staff, furniture, equipment, and the curriculum.

Teacher qualifications should meet departmental norms. School buildings had to be of minimum standards and applications for subsidies from registered private schools was voluntary.

Evaluations would also acknowledge private schools where schoolwork was of an exceptional standard.

Schools with or without hostels, rural or urban, or any other type would receive the same consideration for subsidies.

They would have to comply with certain professional procedures, such as annual audited accounts, outlined by the departments committee.

Different conditions and criteria for subsidisation would apply to pre-primary and schools for the handicapped.

"The department now invites formal applications from private schools for a subsidy," the minister said.

#### Education for Rural Black Children

MB021452 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1316 GMT 2 May 86

[Text] House of Representatives, May 2, SAPA--Strategies would be devised to bring secondary education within easier reach of rural black children, the minister of education and development aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said today.

Replying to debate on his budget vote, he said there was a 10 per cent growth rate in black secondary schools at present.

This was "very considerable."

In rural areas in particular, there were insufficient secondary schools within easy reach of children's homes.

He hoped to receive a report on the situation before the end of the year.

Strategies would then be devised to bring secondary education within easier reach of these people, whether by busing, hostel accommodation or decentralisation.

In the meanwhile additional classrooms were being erected at farm schools to allow students to "bridge over" until secondary education became accessible to them.

Dr Viljoen said it was admitted that pupil/classroom ratios in black schools were unsatisfactory.

Under the recently-announced national plan for education, by 1994 the figures would be 30 pupils per classroom for secondary schools and 35 for primary schools.

This was a goal the department was capable of reaching.

The department was also helping the self-governing national states "where the backlog is even bigger."

The funds generated by the 10-year plan would be used "to bring them up to this level."

He also said he was gratified by the most recent black matric results, which had shown an increase from 49 to 52 per cent.

This was still "much too low," but it was still encouraging that under the recent difficult circumstances of unrest there had been a 3 per cent rise.

#### Black Educators Reject Announcement

MB050550 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0539 GMT 5 May 86

[Text] Johannesburg, May 4, SAPA--Black educationists have reacted negatively to an announcement by the minister of national education, [title as received] Dr Gerrit Viljoen that the South African Government is about to appoint a black person to head black education.

The educationists say the South African political situation would have to change first before such an appointment can be contemplated.

They warned that a person nominated by the government to such a position will not be acceptable to their people.

Dr S.K. Matseke, a circuit inspector of Johannesburg black schools, said: "The nomination of blacks to senior positions is out. Black people today want to elect their own leaders.

"Even if they were to be called upon to elect such a person I do not see how it can be done while all blacks are still out of the political arena," Dr Matseke said.

He said blacks would first have to be given political rights to be able to elect their own politician to the position--"someone who will be acceptable to all the people. They must have the mechanism to elect him."

Mr T.W. Kambule, a lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand said, "In what political structure are they going to appoint a black? To nominate a black to such a position would have been all right in the 60's when blacks were still tolerating apartheid.

"They are rejecting it now and are demanding to elect their own people to parliament.

"If they (the government) think they are going to say to black people: There is somebody for you black people are going to reject such a person," he added.

"Do not think the minister's intentions can work under the present political system," said Mr H.H. Dlamlenze, secretary-general of the African Teachers Association of South Africa, an umbrella body of associations of black teachers.

He also called on the government to give political rights to blacks first.

We have never discussed or proposed that," was the reaction of Mr P. Peteni, president of the African Teachers Association.

"What we have proposed are negotiations between blacks and whites with a view to power-sharing."

/8918

CS0: 3400/1672

SOWETO LEADER DISCUSSES COUNTRY'S INTERNATIONAL POSITION

Pietermaritzburg REALITY in English Mar/May 86 pp 8-10

[Interview with Nthato Motlana, Chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten and President of the Soweto Civic Association by Sam Mabe; date and place not given]

[Text] Reality: Dr Motlana, how would you say Blacks in South Africa view foreign investments: as propping up Apartheid or helping to end it?

Dr Motlana: There are specific laws such as the Internal Security Act, Public Safety Act and many others which will not allow any form of campaigning for disinvestment. Anybody who would start campaigning for disinvestment would be running a risk of going to Robben Island. But I can tell you now that by their very nature, foreign investments support the status quo, they support Apartheid. Blacks in this country will tell you that the only way of changing the status quo is to do whatever will wreck the country's economy, to bring the stubborn Afrikaners to the negotiation table. It would seem that more and more Blacks are subscribing to this view.

Reality: But there are people who argue that crippling the economy through disinvestment or sanctions will hurt Blacks most. What are your views on this?

Dr Motlana: It is not the Black man who says that. In meetings that I have attended, like the one at the South African Institute of Race Relations about six months ago, I have heard very many Black workers say they will certainly suffer, but they say this will be in the short term only. They say they are prepared to bear the consequences of their own recommendations and that in the long term, they will gain when things shall be changed, and there is a just society. Blacks are not moving into this whole thing of disinvestment blindly, they understand the implications and they say they are prepared to suffer. It has been said by some people that disinvestment will lead to a shrinkage in the economy and therefore greater unemployment, but there is tremendous unemployment right now which is a direct result of Apartheid. There is already a great deal of pulling out by many companies, which means we are already suffering the effects of the iniquitous policy of Apartheid.

Reality: What, in your view, is the Black opinion on foreign pressure, especially from the United Nations?

Dr Motlana: Blacks have become disillusioned with foreign pressure. There was a time when they thought that agencies such as the United Nations, the Anti-Apartheid Movement and others from the West might bring this country to change its views. However, the long and sorry history of Namibia has shown that South Africa's friends in the West are not pursuing the type of economic and political pressure that needs to be exerted to get the South African government to change her policies.

Reality: What about the pressure from organisations such as Trans-Africa?

Dr Motlana: The campaigns by people like Randall Robinson and others enjoy the support of the masses here because they are bringing the whole question of Apartheid to the attention of the American public, but we are looking at Banks, Foundations, investors and the (American) government. Blacks are convinced that (American) Whites will not turn against their kith and kin in favour of Blacks in South Africa. We know that when it comes to push it is going to be the governments and major companies that can bring effective pressure to bear on South Africa, but that is what we do not see happening, hence the disillusionment.

Reality: What form of pressure would Blacks recommend to force the South African Government to change?

Dr Motlana: I don't know. But what I've heard from some meetings I have attended, Blacks talk about the need for disinvestment and mandatory sanctions, and support for the Frontline States. More than that, Blacks would like to see the international community use whatever muscle it has to free Namibia and get South Africa out of Angola. They would also like to see South Africa being stopped from destabilising her neighbours.

Reality: Has the Reagan Administration's policy of Constructive Engagement succeeded, and how is it viewed by Blacks?

Dr Motlana: Not only Blacks, even American Conservatives in the Republican Administration are agreed that it was a failure. It has achieved absolutely nothing except encourage South Africa in its intransigence. The American Government's image has been severely tainted in the eyes of (South African) Blacks because of this policy, it has made Washington just as guilty of the crime of Apartheid as Pretoria is.

Reality: Assuming a post-Apartheid situation, in what direction should the country's foreign policy lean: East, West or Non-Aligned?

Dr Motlana: That will depend entirely on how long the struggle for justice will last. There have been many who have commented that the longer the struggle takes, the more certain it is that the unit of currency in South Africa will be the Russian Ruble! I am suggesting that in the post-Apartheid era we will remember who our friends were in our moment of need.

At the moment the West is just not interested in our battle for justice, they have taken our battle and made it their own. Our policies will be to accommodate and to give comfort to our friends who gave us arms and education, our policies will lean towards the East.

Reality: Is there anything the West can do at this hour to prevent this?

Dr Motlana: Of course, the West has the wherewithal with the large investment in South Africa to support the struggle going on here, to support a just cause in this country. America's policy towards Savimbi for instance, is most disgraceful. They allow South Africa to play cat and mouse with Samora Machel by arming the M.N.R. It is those policies which will make it impossible for us to regard the West as our true friends. They have let us down ever so often.

Reality: There have been arguments that the East provides arms to countries which could perhaps do better with food. What is your comment on this?

Dr Motlana: In post-Independent South Africa, there may be a need for food. But the greatest need at the moment is for justice, for freedom, for liberation. Surely Ethiopia and Sudan need food, independent Mozambique needs food, but we are not campaigning for food, we are campaigning for a just society. It is ridiculous to suggest that Russia can only give us arms and not food. What we need is not food, we need liberation.

Reality: The case has been made that Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland are falsely separated from South Africa. What would be the ideal relationship with these states in a post-Apartheid situation?

Dr Motlana: Having attended Fort Hare with some of the leaders like Ntsu Mokhehle and Seretse Khama, I am convinced that in a post-Apartheid South Africa there will be a federation which might even include Namibia because of the economic, historical and communication links between all these states with South Africa. We surely belong together with all those people.

Reality: How did Blacks view the Nkomati Accord?

Dr Motlana: When Nkomati was announced, somebody asked me if I had been invited for the signing ceremony. I said I had not. If I had been I would not have gone to witness the ultimate humiliation on an African leader whose country was made ungovernable by South Africa and in the aftermath, forced to sign a friendship treaty. That humiliation brought no joy nor security to poor Samora Machel in his country. We think Nkomati was a disgrace South Africa should be ashamed of.

Reality: Was it a wise decision for Lesotho to have refused to sign an accord with South Africa in view of the fact that they are a landlocked country; entirely dependent on South Africa for almost everything?

Dr Motlana: We Black South Africans cannot understand the need for these accords. These countries have pledged themselves to prevent infiltration of A.N.C. cadres into their countries and they will not allow them training facilities and so on. South Africa which cannot control infiltration of A.N.C. insurgents wants Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland to do that dirty job for her. If they don't, or show unwillingness to do so, she punishes them severely. I think this is a disgraceful case of a bully venting his spleen and his frustration on poor, unarmed and defenceless neighbours. I believe that it is the correct attitude for these countries to refuse to sign accords which merely allow South Africa to interfere in their internal affairs. It is for the outside world to support these weak countries against a bullying neighbour. Botswana is right in refusing to sign an accord that will diminish her independence and turn her into a puppet state of Pretoria.

Reality: What do you say about the A.N.C.'s argument that its cadres are not necessarily in the neighbouring states but are operating within South Africa?

Dr Motlana: Recent events have shown that this is quite true. We do read news and hear suggestions that there are A.N.C. men in Alexandra for instance. If South Africa wants to make the A.N.C. redundant and ineffective it must institute a just and free society. As things now stand one cannot foresee a situation where the A.N.C. would just call it a day and decide to abandon the struggle it has been involved in over the years.

Reality: How did Blacks view President Botha's overseas trip in May 1985?

Dr Motlana: It was described in South Africa by his cronies as a great success. But it was perceived by Blacks in South Africa as a public relations exercise that misled and misinformed the outside world. Subsequent events, such as the collapse of the South African economy, showed that the outside world had not in fact been convinced about the public relations exercise that had taken place. The trip was, as far as Blacks were concerned, a waste of time.

Reality: It has been suggested that South Africa had a hand in the military coup in Lesotho recently, what is the general belief among Blacks?

Dr Motlana: Blacks are certain that South Africa had a hand in Lesotho's coup. Even if it could not be shown that in some direct fashion South Africa influenced events, there is absolutely no doubt that they then staged a blockade. Making it clear that they were unhappy with Lesotho's relationship with Eastern countries--especially the opening of the Embassies. At that moment, they were setting the stage for a possible revolt by the people of Lesotho who had interpreted South Africa's displeasure with the policies of Lesotho as having something to do with the opening of these Embassies.

Secondly, South African Blacks are well aware that the government of Leabua Jonathan was imposed on an unwilling population after the very first election when it was known that the Basotholand Congress Party led by Mr Ntsu Mokhehle had won the elections. Clearly, in South Africa they argued that as long as Jonathan was willing to be a puppet and play South Africa's game he was welcome, but as soon as he showed some an independent line--by opening Eastern Embassies--he had ceased to be their puppet. He, however, wanted to play a meaningful role in the OAU and other international forums and had to show that he wasn't a puppet of South Africa. For that reason South Africa dropped him like a hot potato.

Leabua Jonathan, not that we are sorry that this usurper has lost his position. We would have liked, however, that the rightful ruler of Lesotho, Mr Ntsu Mokhehle and his Party, rather than a military regime should have been the alternative government.

Reality: What does the blockade which preceded the Lesotho Coup say for the effectiveness of economic sanctions?

Dr Motlana: It says everything. It rebuts the argument about the ineffectiveness of sanctions. Whenever we talk about sanctions in international conferences, we are always told about the experience of Italy and Ethiopia (or Abyssinia as it used to be called) around 1936 when, as a result of the invasion by Mussolini, the League of Nations attempted to impose an economic blockade on Italy which never succeeded.

We are also reminded of the ineffective blockade over Rhodesia. However, there are those who argue that in fact the economic blockade in Rhodesia was effective and that, together with the guerilla war, was one of the reasons why the Smith regime capitulated. South Africa, of course, gives a classic example of how very effective an economic blockade can be. During my visit to the United States, a Mayor I visited was arguing for naval blockade. He said that a few ships could be stationed around South Africa so that no oil or anything should reach the country. South Africa has proved in no uncertain terms that economic sanctions are very, very effective in bringing a recalcitrant country to heel.

Reality: What are the implications of Nelson Mandela's release for the current strife inside South Africa?

Dr Motlana: I think the release of Mandela should be viewed in its broadest perspective. If, as all of us insist, Nelson Mandela is released together with his colleagues, if this is accompanied by the return of the exiles and if, thirdly, political organisations banned in 1960 are unbanned so as to give Mandela the political base he holds to operate peacefully inside South Africa, then I would imagine that he will become an effective leader of the Black people.

On the other hand, if he is released to his home in Orlando accompanied by numerous restrictions on what he may or may not do, what kind of public meetings he may or may not address (which will deny him access to the

necessary political base) and also accompanied by the refusal to release other people convicted with him in 1964, and the further refusal to the return of the exiles, his release will have no meaning at all. It will mean that he will immediately embark on a Defiance Campaign. He will probably organise meetings, he will probably join up with the UDF or put up a new organisation altogether. He will defy restrictions imposed on him and, I believe, the Government is worried by the kind of attitude he may adopt, and is therefore not about to release him. So, any talk about his release is mere speculation.

Reality: There have been suggestions that the Government is prepared to release him if only he would not stay in South Africa. Would he accept this, and what would Blacks say about this?

Dr Motlana: There have been lots and lots of rumours about discussions between the South African and the British Governments, the French and even with Zambia. There is a small number of Blacks who would advocate that he goes into exile. There is even a small number of Blacks who speak about the possibility of a (South African) Government exile. But the bigger proportion of Blacks realise that the struggle for liberation is going to take place and be won right here. So if the government sees itself under pressure it will be because of what is happening right here and therefore, to be effective a leader must work within South Africa.

I have heard that he has refused already to agree to go into exile and many of us support that contention. However, there is no reason why Mr Mandela, having spent 22 years of his life on Robben Island, should go into even more of a prison outside where there will be restrictions on his movement and speeches by the host country. He will not enjoy the kind of freedom that he would like to see. We feel therefore that he should stick to his guns and refuse to go into exile.

Reality: Thank you, Dr Motlana.

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CSO: 3400/1756

## TOM LODGE LISTS ANC LEADERS WITH SACP MEMBERSHIP

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 11 May 86 p 2

[Article by Stephan Terblanche]

[Text]

PRESIDENT BOTHA's hint that nationalist — as opposed to communist — leaders of the African National Congress may be allowed to return to South Africa, provided they renounce violence, has sent analysts scurrying to their files to establish who's left of whom in the ANC executive.

The truth, though, is that scant authoritative information exists to enable Mr Botha or anyone else to distinguish between the hardline Marxists and the more orthodox black nationalists among the exiled leaders of the banned organisation.

Mr Tom Lodge, a political scientist at the University of the Witwatersrand who has made a close study of the ANC's national executive committee, says that only six members of the NEC are definitely members of the South African Communist Party, while a further 13 could possibly be members.

His view differs from an analysis by former top SAP intelligence officer Mr Craig Williamson. Last year Mr Williamson said that at least 25 of the 30 new and re-elected NEC members were communists.

### Definite

Mr Lodge's figures have been rejected as too high by people close to the ANC and by other academics, while ANC executive member Francis Meil said in a recent BBC interview that only five NEC members belonged to the SACP.

Mr Lodge's study lists the following as definite members of the SACP:

- Joe Slovo, top military strategist and the first white ANC executive member.

- Mac Maharaj, one of the first Indian executive members, whose SACP links were revealed in court in the '60s.

- John Gaetsewe, a specialist in international trade union solidarity work.

- Thomas Nkobi, treasurer-general of the ANC.

- Dan Tloome, SACP member and one of the oldest executive members.

The 13 possible SACP members, according to Mr Lodge, are:

- Reg September, first coloured member of the NEC, close to the former Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA).

- Aziz Pahad, who often writes for the party mouthpiece, the African Communist.

- James Stuart, prominent trade unionist with military background.

- Francis Mell, educated in East Germany and editor of the ANC publication *Sechaba*.

- Tony Mongale, who headed the ANC mission in East Berlin, and is now its representative in Madagascar.

### Military

- Cassius Make, of whom little is known except that he has a military background.

- Alfred Nzo, secretary-general of the ANC, who frequently travels to Moscow and international leftwing gatherings.

- Joe Modise, head of the ANC military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe.

- Stephen Dlamini, high-ranking ANC trade unionist.

- John Nkadimeng, chairman of the ANC political committee.

● Gertrude Shope, head of the Women's League of the ANC.

● Andrew Makgoti, in charge of education at the ANC.

● Jacob Zuma, who spent time on Robben Island in the '60s. He is the ANC's Mozambican representative.

The remaining 11 NEC members, says Mr Lodge, are either definitely not communists, or too little is known to be sure. They are:

● Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC and a known nationalist.

● Palo Jordan, close to Tambo.

● Ruth Mompati, also close to Tambo and a nationalist.

● Sizakele Sigxashe, a young man of whom little is known.

● Johnny Makatini, head of the ANC's international department.

● Chris Hani, number two man at Umkhonto and its political commissar.

● Mazwai Pilliso, of whom little is known.

● Thabo Mbeki, director of ANC publicity and information. His father was jailed with Nelson Mandela.

● Thozamile Botha, the first member of the "class of 1976" to be elected to the NEC.

● Simon Makana, of whom little is known.

● Joe Nhlanhla, of whom little is known.

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CSO: 3400/1753

# AZAPO PRESIDENT EXPLAINS PRINCIPLES, BLUEPRINTS FOR FUTURE

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 2-8 May 86 p 11

[Interview with Saths Cooper, National Forum convenor and AZAPO president by Shaun Johnson, date and place not given]

[Text]     **The first in an occasional series in which political leaders are asked to explain their principles, their tactics, their blueprints for a more peaceful tomorrow.**

THE National Forum has been quoted as saying it claims "sole rights to the liberation struggle" in South Africa. As a socialist grouping, is this how you see your role?

We don't claim at all to be the sole actors. There are various significant groups on the extra-parliamentary political stage, prime amongst them being the ANC, the PAC, Unity Movement and BCMA externally and, internally, the UDF, the new Unity Movement and certain workerist groups.

We believe very fervently in democracy and the right of people to put forward their political positions without fear or favour. The revolutionary movement is strengthened when different opinions on the road forward are seen as differences *within* the liberation movement.

We take real exception to the view that if there are differences they must be dealt with in a very antagonistic fashion, and in some cases even in a physical fashion. Contradictions that are evident between different tendencies can be resolved in a revolutionary, responsible, and mature manner.

The type of activity that has been peppering the political scenario for the past year lends itself to infiltration by agents of the state, to being fanned by *agents provocateurs*, to vigilante intervention.

If responsible revolutionary leaders don't consider this now, within a few months there is going to be a wholesale takeover by counter-revolutionary forces, — which is already happening in certain places where fear is the keynote.

As far as influencing the political momentum is concerned, I think that many of the Forum positions have been adopted in one way or another by various other tendencies — like for instance the position on collaboration and the clear, alternative, socialist thrust.

We are actually the only alliance of the Left in this country. There are other groupings, but they are not necessarily socialist or necessarily alliances of the Left.

We see our role as continuing to influence change through discussion and joint efforts with others who happen not to be within the Forum.

**How then do you view the chances of success for your "unity on the Left" initiative?**

We are very encouraged by the fact that affiliates of larger groupings and individuals within those groups have displayed a tremendous amount of interest and enthusiasm for positions that we are putting forward, and the recognition that we are not representative of anything but a socialist, Left, principled position. Some of these groups have come in jointly with some of our constituents on joint actions, in different places.

For a long time there has not been unity, and there will not be unity of representatives of the oppressed and exploited because of the threat some leaders perceive.

Besides the very important policy decisions, the major factor is personality: the threat to one's assumed hegemony, one's assumed

authenticity ... Then the revolutionary struggle degenerates into a political one. That is the phase we are seeing right now.

If all the forces in the liberation struggle don't come to terms with that reality very soon, we are going to continue acting largely as pressure factors in the struggle, responding to whatever the ruling class puts into the social arena.

The Forum decided on campaigns around May Day and June 16th. Do you foresee any problems arising because of the discrepancy in dates from other organisations' campaigns?

We have not decided upon, as the press has put it, boycott, stay-away, work stoppage and that type of action. We have said to consider "appropriate action" as constituents deem fit. In an area you may have constituents who press for particular worker action, or student action. But it will depend on the constituencies. It is merely that nationally, everybody will focus on this period.

On May Day we have called for a public holiday. The police and other repressive arms of the state and the captains of industry are going to react very badly to whatever celebration of May Day is going to happen. Therefore it's going to spill over to the second of May. This weekend then becomes an important period.

In planning any type of commemoration, it must be recognised that it can result in death, and that has a spillover effect. Therefore we have chosen the period of the first to the fourth so there can be action depending on objective, material conditions in different places.

What about the campaign planned between the 16th and the 26th of June?

The June period is very significant because internationally it is being observed by different groups in solidarity with the people in this country. Our struggle is not merely a narrow nationalist one.

The 16th of June is the 10th anniversary of the Soweto uprising, which became the first national student uprising. We should look at where the struggle is right now, the anti-collaborationist, pro-socialist line that the people are adopting.

That period should allow for people to focus nationally on a form of withdrawal action, almost a notice to the government that the status quo is intolerable.

In many quarters our call for the June action has been interpreted as one to bring the government down in 10 days — again that is ridiculous, just laughable.

We haven't even really called on the organised or unorganised workers to embark on a stayaway for those 10 days. We know the

divisiveness of people who impose calls like that on the workers, and the consequences of calls like that which are made without prior consultation and democratic debate.

Actions like a boycott do not always lead to progress. Sometimes they can be counterproductive and we should choose our weapons correctly.

Our view is of the struggle as a protracted one. It is a long march. Fundamental change, not reforms to the capitalist system, is the long-term aim.

This leads to your position on negotiations. What is the difference between your rejection of a national convention as a principle, and blanket rejection of negotiations?

At present the National Convention is a bourgeois sellout. It is intended to dilute revolutionary forces and reproduce them in the image of capital.

A national convention will be called by the present Botha-Malan junta against the interests of the oppressed and exploited people. They will call all the present parliamentary disgraced parties. They will also probably call certain extra-parliamentary groups.

The state of organisation right now is geared at mobilising and organising people. The present extra-parliamentary groups are not geared at having that type of presence where the present repressive machinery will still remain. Botha and Malan will enter the conference room with their forces of repression still intact.

Before any negotiation can take place, there must be a commitment to disband the present repressive status quo as it exists in all its forms.

We do not reject a negotiated settlement that considers realistic distribution of wealth and realignment of power. We are talking about the transference of power to the working people. Power is either transferred to the working people, or it should be seized by them.

At present the National Forum does not have any designs on being any future type of government in the wings. We are interested in the correctness of our analysis and positions, and to ensure that the struggle does not get hijacked by opportunistic elements.

Why? More recently you've had Nelson Mandela, Winnie Mandela, other significant heroes of the struggle saying exactly what we have been saying about the national convention, about the position with regard to redistribution and full access to wealth, the land question, and the question of power. There can be no power-sharing; power can only vest with the majority of the people.

What about "negotiations" as a tactic of political struggle?

There we have no problem, because it will be taking two steps back and reassessing, ensuring that there is a respite so that there can be new progress in the struggle. There are two types of negotiations: negotiation for co-optation and more sophisticated repression and exploitation, without the so-called "ugly face" of apartheid. The other is negotiation for empowerment, real empowerment.

**Does this leave any space for negotiation with capital?**

In a tactical sense this has been happening, and it will continue to happen as long as people always recognise that capital has different forms and now the guise of imperialism will be very subtle.

Later it will be blatant — like in Libya and Grenada. But the subtle face of imperialism is the one to watch, because it will call for the scrapping of Group Areas legislation, the granting of passports and so on, in order better to co-opt you into becoming the spokesperson of that position.

**You have rejected the characterisation of the National Forum as a "black consciousness organisation".**

Black consciousness is a major component of the Forum, but there are other major components, all of which have gone to contributing to the manifesto.

You will have the black consciousness adherents and the true nonracialists believing very fervently in the manifesto. The position has been put out of diametric, antagonistic

opposition between black consciousness and nonracialism.

The media understands nonracialism to mean multi-racialism. It means putting forward black faces for what is essentially a perpetuation of white minority control.

Within the Forum we have different political tendencies representing a belief in Africanism, workerist views and so on.

**What is the current position on white participation in the Forum?**

All we have with regard to participation in the Forum is that the group should not represent ruling class interests, and that it should represent the interests of the oppressed and exploited people.

Within the Forum we have constituents that may have one or two people who have been classified as so-called whites. They have not made a case for "white participation" because they all agree with the position laid out in the manifesto, that is that the present status quo serves the interests of the white minority for better exploitation and oppression of the black majority.

We believe that if any group claims to be a "white group", then it has no real claim to be working for the interests of the people.

If it reflects the vision of the majority of people in this country, then it would be a different case. But we believe that whites constitute, as a group, a problem. And as such, it is very difficult to constitute themselves into a solution.

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CSO: 3400/1698

## TOWNSHIPS FORM SELF-DEFENSE MILITIAS

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 2-8 May 86 p 5

[Article by Sefako Nyaka]

[Text] IN the face of violent attacks on political activists and their homes, residents in several townships have come together to form "people's militias".

This week parents and pupils in Diepkloof, Soweto resolved to get together and defend themselves against attacks such as those suffered by some residents last weekend.

Six people died and 13 others are in a serious condition in Baragwanath Hospital after being shot and attacked with pangas at a night vigil for a dead student in Diepkloof early on Sunday morning.

Eyewitnesses say the attack was carried out by about 40 men wearing balaclavas, who also set alight two tents which were hired for the occasion.

Several youths are said to be missing after being allegedly dragged to vehicles which residents said resembled police vehicles.

Cartridge cases and a "brain-spattered" balaclava were picked up in the blood-stained yard.

On Monday, David Mabeba, the father of a high school student, was shot dead by an unknown gunman during a raid on his house in Diepkloof by several men who said they were looking for his son.

In Soweto alone more than half a dozen houses of activists have been attacked in a week.

In a statement this week the Soweto Civic Association (SCA) said the fact that the "police, the SADF, councillors and their henchmen have

been seen at scenes of petrol-bombings and other savage acts of brutality is cause for concern.

"We can no longer stand by idly while our wives, children and property are being attacked. We have no option but to defend ourselves and it is in this context that we support the resolution taken by residents to form self-defence units."

The SCA said the situation "we are being forced into" may lead them to review "our commitment to non-violent struggle".

The first significant attack took place in Alexandra township more than a week ago.

According to sworn affidavits from residents, the attacks were carried out by men wearing powder blue shirts and dark trousers — standard police uniform.

Residents also claim that some of the white policemen had their faces blackened during the attack and that police vehicles escorted the attackers or appeared on the scene shortly after the attacks and did nothing to stop them.

The affidavits also claim that there is collusion by the fire department. In most instances described in the affidavits, people whose houses were set on fire were told not to put out the fire as the fire brigade was on its way.

The Alexandra Action Committee (AAC) claimed that since the attacks police had killed 18 people.

Police have confirmed only four deaths in Alexandra since last Tuesday — admitting that three of them were

the result of police action — and said they were investigating claims of police involvement in vigilante groups.

AAC chairman Moses Mayekiso told a press conference this week that police had formed vigilante groups of up to 200 to patrol the township on foot in a bid to eliminate activists.

The acting publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, Murphy Morobe, said people were becoming more and more convinced that the attacks were taking place with the

sanction of the police, or some police units or even by certain elements in the police force.

"In all these incidents hardly a single person has been arrested. It didn't take the police long to make arrests in connection with the killing of Rambo," (the alleged thug killed in Meadowlands a week ago).

Attacks were also reported at Carletonville, Krugersdorp, Bophelong in the Vaal Triangle and at Welkom, Free State.

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CSO: 3400/1698

UWUSA EXPLAINS GOALS TO END WORKER EXPLOITATION

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 8 May 86 p 9

[Article by Sheryl Raine]

[Text] The United Workers' Union of SA (UWUSA) has warned employers that, while it stands for free enterprise, it will not allow its members to be exploited under the free enterprise system.

The union's executive committee was in Johannesburg yesterday to introduce members to the media.

The union has been criticised by its opponents because of the considerable funds and facilities it has received from Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement.

Its executive committee--all of whom belong to Inkatha, and some of whom were businessmen--has been accused of being more in tune with management issues than worker grievances.

Defending Uwusa, its president, Mr P. Ndlovu said Uwusa hoped to become the country's biggest and most dynamic group of trade unions. Although Inkatha had so far provided all its facilities, Uwusa wished to become self-supporting through membership dues.

Uwusa's primary objective was to form and support industry-based trade unions throughout the country to end worker exploitation and to improve quality of life.

The non-racial union would seek registration in terms of the South African Labour Relations Act as a general union but hoped to grow into a federation which supported the policy of one industry, one union. The union has pledged to exploit all the facilities available under the Act and to make use of the Industrial Court.

It was revealed that moves were afoot to bring the labour laws of the kwaZulu homeland into line with South African labour law. Amendments to this effect were expected to be ratified soon by Pretoria.

"There is concern among workers and employers that violence will mark the formation of Uwusa and the recruitment of members," said Mr Ndlovu.

"Uwusa is prepared to answer all allegations of violence. We have the infrastructure and disciplinary procedures to thoroughly investigate any incident. We pledge to work with all unions, employers and other authorities in establishing the facts and truth behind any allegations of violence."

Later Uwusa's secretary general, Mr S. Conco, dismissed as "mischief-making" allegations made by opposing trade unions that their members had been attacked by Inkatha/Uwusa supporters.

"The membership drive and the request for membership since May Day has been overwhelming," said Mr Ndlovu. "The response has been so great throughout Natal and the Transvaal that our resources are being stretched to the limit.

"We are paying urgent attention to this and will soon be in a position to accommodate the thousands of inquiries we are receiving from individuals and many major trade unions," he said.

Uwusa had also enrolled 126 white members at its Germiston office.

However, when pressed, the executive would not disclose membership numbers or names of trade unions which they claimed had approached Uwusa.

The executive did however reveal for the first time a list of companies at which Uwusa claimed majority membership. These included the Sasko-owned Ulundi Bakery in KwaZulu, Scottish Cables in Maritzburg as well as the city's municipal bus company, Natal Tanning Extract and Jabula Foods.

No recognition agreements had yet been signed but negotiations with employers were scheduled to begin soon.

#### Who's Who in the New Union

Who's who in the United Workers' Union of South Africa (UWUSA):

--Mr P. Ndlovu (president), former school teacher, hospital compound manager, presently industrial relations regional controller for a group of companies in Natal and Uwusa regional chairman in the Durban region.

--Mr P. Msomi (vice president), not introduced.

--Mr S. Conco (secretary general), former businessman, community leader and chairman of the bus boycott committee in Empangeni.

--Mr P. Davidson (treasurer) studied economics in the United States, former employee of IBM and Anglo American.

--Mr G. Radebe, former member of the Zululand Legislative Assembly, industrial relations and personnel relations officer for Tongaat-Hulett group from 1979 to 1984, presently studying part-time for LLB at Natal University with emphasis on labour law.

--Mr G. Mathiyane, employed at Zululand Sawmills as a supervisor, former national president of the Paper Wood and Allied Workers Union, regional chairman of Federation of SA Trade Unions in northern Natal until the formation of the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) at the end of 1985. Now chairman of the Zululand region of Uwusa.

--Mr G. Malunga (Maritzburg region), driver for the municipality, member of the Transport Workers Union until the advent of Cosatu.

--Mr S. Majola (East Rand region), employed by Consol Glass, former member of the Chemical Workers Industrial Union.

--Mr M. Hlatshwayo (Newcastle), employed by Veka in Newcastle as a storeman, former member of the General Workers' Union.

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CSO: 3400/1753

'CHILDREN OF RESENTMENT', FAMILY DAMAGE LAID TO PASS LAWS

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 11 May 86 p 15

[Article by Linda Vergnani]

[Text]

FOR South Africa's thousands of "children of resentment", the repeal of the pass laws has come too late.

The term was coined by East London doctor Trudi Thomas to describe a generation of youngsters whose families were broken up by the migrant labour system and who grew up malnourished and emotionally deprived. Left in the homelands in the care of unsuitable or overburdened guardians who resented their existence, these children have matured into angry, brutish teenagers.

When they have children of their own, the teenagers of this generation sometimes display almost psychopathic behaviour, watching their babies starve without apparent emotion.

And they are ideal material for revolutionary causes.

Dr Thomas said this week: "There's very little for them to live for so these kids are prepared to die for a just cause."

Dr Thomas described the long-term damage caused by the pass laws as "extreme".

She said: "One wonders whether anything can be done to heal the social chaos that has resulted from the break-up of family life. The repeal of the pass laws has certainly come too late for the children of resentment. The damage is so great that it will afflict the next generation as well."

And in Cape Town, the Reverend Syd Luckett, director of the Anglican Board of Social Responsibility, said the pass laws had caused "irreversible" damage to family life.

These laws were probably applied more stringently in the Western Cape than anywhere else. Mr Luckett, who worked closely with squatter families in Crossroads, said he felt "anger and relief" at their demise.

"It is a great relief to know the Government is at last taking steps to remove one of the fundamental sources of frustration and bitterness in the black community but at the same time I'm also angry when I think back over the past five years of my involvement with ordinary people — husbands, wives, fathers, mothers, children — who have been victims of this evil system.

"I think of children in Cape Town who were left without shelter or protection when their parents were forcibly separated from them and deported to the Transkei. I think of babies born in the bush because their parents would not dare to put up even the flimsiest shelter for fear of detection by the authorities. I think of a man who said his own children did not know him because he was only able to be with them for three weeks of every year."

Some of the damage could never be put right and all this was "for some ghastly experiment in social engineering".

Dr Thomas said: "The children of resentment are growing up to become unloving mothers who don't know how to care for their babies and the unfathered sons in turn become uncaring, deserting fathers."

She said many of the children of resentment had been badly beaten by their guardians and in turn became physically abusive. "Because of the treatment these youngsters have received there is a loss of respect for old people. Their view of old people is justifiably very negative and is shown in the cases we see of even very old grandmothers who have been assaulted by young men."

Because they are angry and mistrustful of the establishment and their parents, peer pressure is extremely important. Now they have found a cause around which to rally, they are willing to sacrifice their lives for it."

Many of the children were not only emotionally impoverished but were permanently intellectually stunted due to malnutrition.

Dr Thomas said: "If you are malnourished in the first two years of life, no amount of food and care will restore you fully intellectually, even given the best circumstances. If, as is the case in some of the homeland areas, three-quarters of the children are stunted, you can see there is a tremendous national effect on people."

It was in a major study of the home backgrounds of malnourished children in the Ciskei in the 1970s that Dr Thomas first became aware of the children of resentment.

She compared the home background of 223 children with kwashiorkor and marasmus with 286 undernourished and well-nourished children. She found that three-quarters of the children studied came from poverty-stricken homes broken up by migrant labour.

But the children with kwashiorkor and marasmus had been far more severely affected than the others. They were typically illegitimate, in the care of destitute or handicapped guardians, unsupported by their fathers and in some cases abandoned by their mothers.

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CSO: 3400/1753

UDF WARY OF INTERVIEWS WITH PRESS, WARNS AFFILIATES

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 13 May 86 p 7

[Text]

The United Democratic Front yesterday warned its affiliates to be wary of journalists and not to grant interviews unless these had been cleared by regional or national offices of the UDF.

In a statement to Sapa yesterday the UDF described as "misleading, alarmist and irresponsible" a report in a Sunday newspaper which purported to assess the role of the organisation in Lebowa.

The report, which appeared in the *Sunday Times*, drew strong reaction from the UDF.

"As a result of this report the UDF takes the following measures: We call on our affiliates to be wary of journalists and not allow themselves to be interviewed unless the interviews are approved by the regional or national offices of UDF.

"We also intend taking the matter up with the Media Council and we ask the *Sunday Times* to make corrections."

The UDF Northern Transvaal region condemned the *Sunday Times*' report on Lebowa and the role of the UDF.

"We particularly condemn the attempt to put words into the mouths of the UDF spokesman," the statement said.

In its report the *Sunday Times* said that a "former ANC member talks of the spread of the liberation war, the undermining of the authority of the State and the destruction of Lebowa's system of government. . ."

The UDF said it did not identify with such a statement.

It also rejected a reference in the *Sunday Times* report to a UDF programme to eliminate so-called "grey areas."

"We see this as . . . causing alarm among the white population, as an attempt by the *Sunday Times* to justify, legitimise and encourage the violence farmers have conducted against our defenceless people".

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CSO: 3400/1756

# SOWETO BUSINESSES SNARED BY RED TAPE

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 2 May 86 p 7

[Article by Diana Games]

[Text] **GREATER SOWETO**, with an estimated population of up to 2-million, contains only about 2 500 licensed businesses and one self-contained shopping centre.

Ratios like these are unheard of in any densely-populated white area. Why does Soweto lag so badly.

The Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC), which compiled these figures, says bureaucracy is largely to blame. Regulations obstructing free enterprise in Soweto number between 500 and 1 000.

Any gradual loosening of restrictions is countered by the political situation, which makes Soweto a high-risk investment area.

The SBDC has now renewed its call for the dropping of legal restrictions on black businessmen, a move which demands a greater urgency with government's abolition of influx control.

Major sections of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act are to be repealed as announced in the White Paper on urbanisation last week.

In Soweto, regulations in terms of the Act, which cover the availability of sites, trading hours, licensing, matters relating to hawkers and containing wide powers over township managers, are the greatest thorn in the side of traders.

Other stumbling blocks are the Group Areas Act, which government seems intent on retaining, and unrealistically high standards for the workplace designed for First World traders, not the relative slums of Soweto.

SBDC spokesman Mike Smuts says severe influx control restrictions before 1979 have left an enormous de-

velopment backlog.

Before 1979 blacks were not allowed to develop manufacturing nor trade in "white" areas and thus moved enterprises to homelands.

More than one business at a time was not allowed and only 25 different trades were allowed to be practised outside the homelands. This number was increased in 1976 to 52 trades and finally removed.

But even now development is still tied up with red tape and is hampered by licensing procedures, tenure of land, and zoning — the latter usually paying no heed to positioning for related markets.

Examples of traders waiting up to six years for a licence to operate are not that uncommon.

And, says the SBDC, the fact that the local authorities are not recognised as legitimate by the people is problematic for business confidence.

Businessman Eric Mafuna says Soweto was never planned for serious growth and does not have suitable locations or space available for large business development and high-rise buildings.

He says there are also cultural drawbacks because, for many Sowetans, their previous lack of exposure to large amounts of money hampers their capacity for large-scale planning.

To counteract worsening unemployment in Soweto — now about 40% of work-seekers — at least 1 000 jobs will have to be created every working day. The informal sector, which has the potential to be a powerful generator of new jobs, is harassed by countless regulations and statutes.

This amounts to a discouragement of individual entrepreneurship de-

spite an estimated 14 000 inquiries a month made to the SBDC by potential black entrepreneurs.

The SBDC has spent well over R2m in nearly five years on development in Soweto, setting up 118 manufacturing units — mostly community-orientated services — and provided loans totalling R100m last year alone.

It has also provided more than 60 000 jobs while still recognising that the rapid growth of black labour means that 45% of blacks will have to provide their own jobs by the year 2000 at the present growth rate.

Recently published figures show that by 2000 the labour force will have increased by 8-million, competing for

an increase of about 2-million jobs.

The grocery trade is the largest single employer in Soweto. But the percentage of business accounted for by these small traders — there are fewer than 300 — has declined by nearly 5% in four years.

Other types of business rating high on the list are wood and coal merchants, greengrocers and butchers.

Some other problems inherent in the relative newness of black manufacturing are lack of marketing capital, management and technical expertise, inadequate equipment, bad debtors, lack of trained staff and poor communication.

### The Standards Differ from the Conditions

STANDARDS applied to Soweto traders have been described as unrealistic, writes DIANNA GAMES.

The SBDC has examples of a self-employed driving instructor prevented from working because he did not provide toilet facilities; a QwaQwa abattoir that had to spend R378 000 bringing itself up to standard; and a Soweto dry cleaner that could open only from 6am to 6pm when its potential clients were at work in the city.

A hawker selling fresh produce would have to:

- ☐ Apply for a licence from the local authority provided he were a lawful resident;
- ☐ Pay R80 to advertise in the Press in English and Afrikaans;
- ☐ Pay a R10 application fee and a R10 inspection fee;
- ☐ Pay a licensing fee ranging from R20 to R50;
- ☐ Send applications to the police, health authorities, city engineer, traffic authorities and fire department.

Caesar Nkosi, a backyard operator for seven years, owns a panel-beating

business in an SBDC industrial park in Orlando West, Soweto.

A year after moving to official premises he still does not have a permanent licence because authorities require him to build a special room, likely to cost R38 000, for spray-painting cars.

He cannot extend his premises to suit his business because he does not own the property and is reluctant to apply for another trading site in case zoning moves him from his market.

He also may not work on insured cars because insurance companies do not recognise his business and insurance inspectors will not come to the townships because of the risk.

He is subject to motor industry regulations which include the control of working hours.

This presents a problem because he is forced to close at the same time as city shops (1pm) while Soweto shops remain open until the evening — a time when he could do his best trade.

He says he would move his business, Zombodze Panel Beaters, to town if he had the money.

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CSO: 3400/1698

## BRIEFS

**AAC TO CONTROL ALEXANDRA**--The Alexandra Action Committee intends taking over the control of the Alexandra township near Johannesburg. This follows the recent resignation of the former mayor, Reverend Sam Buti, the collapse of the local town council, and violence which has dominated the squalid township for some months. "We are not going to replace the council as we do not want to work within apartheid-created structures," explained Moses Mayekiso, the chairperson of the Alexandra Action Committee. He said the new body which would take over would consist of leaders from various community-based organisations. The proposed appointment of an administrator by the government will fail, according to Mayekiso, because such a person or body must first get a mandate from the Alexandra people. He said his committee was planning administration structures which would differ from the former town council. Details about the administration of the township will be submitted to Alex residents for approval during a mass meeting to be held soon. Referring to the rendering of services such as water, electricity supply and the collection of nightsoil, he said: "It is the people who will decide how much to pay and what housing structures suit their pockets." In solving the housing problem, Mayekiso said the committee's priority was to help people create proper houses for their families. "People must be allowed to build houses at any available space in the township. More land must be made available to us so that we can be able to build more houses instead of the state erecting factories surrounding our township," he added. [Text] [Johannesburg THE NEW NATION in English 9-21 May 86 p 3] /9317

**SCHOOLS DISRUPTED**--The Transvaal Students Congress has estimated that more than 20 000 pupils are out of class due to what it described as "a well-orchestrated move by the state to frustrate the implementation of the people's education." The students' organisation blames the disruption on the DET which has closed schools in areas like the Vaal, Mohlakeng, Pretoria and Katlehong. Trasco said many children are afraid to go to school for fear of being harassed by security forces. Many students have been detained and harassed in the Vaal and in Lenasia which Trasco publicity secretary Msindisi Mbalo sees "as attempts to abort structures for people's education." "We want the state to know that despite all this, we are determined to fulfil the resolutions taken at the National Education Crisis conference in Durban," said Mbalo. He said the DET was creating divisions among students by supplying stationery selectively. [Text] [Johannesburg THE NEW NATION in English 9-21 May 86 p 2] /9317

**GAZANKULU SUSPENDS SPORTS**--School sports in Gazankulu have been suspended by the homelands' education authorities--because they believe sport has become the hot bed for political mobilisation in schools, according to student sources. But students have already paid for their sports activities. Although Gazankulu education spokesperson refused to comment when approached by THE NEW NATION, he would not deny that the move may have been taken to prevent school boycotts and unrest which is gradually taking over the once quiet homeland. While the situation in the districts of Giyani and Malamulele seemed to be normal, tension continued to mount at Mhala where students boycotted classes in protest against the suspension of sports activities. Meanwhile, about 89 students who were allegedly responsible for burning part of Mahwahwa High School in Ritavi have been reinstated. The students, mostly matriculants, were expelled after five petrol bombs were hurled at the school last month. The incident followed the expulsion of the same students for leaving the school's premises without permission during Easter holidays. [Text] [Johannesburg THE NEW NATION in English 9-21 May 86 p 2] /9317

**SAPSSA BREAKING RACIAL BARRIERS**--The anti-apartheid orientated South African Primary Schools Sports Association (SAPSSA), has joined the bandwagon of spreading the breakdown of racial barriers to the African schools. Like its sister organisation, the South African Senior Schools Sports Association, SAPSSA's attempts to penetrate the township schools are allegedly being frustrated by the Department of Education and Training (DET). SAPSSA's administrator Wallace Hector told THE NEW NATION: "We have been committed to non-racial sport at schools since we were established in 1960. "We are aware of DET's attempts to foil our moves for possible contacts with schools in the townships." SAPSSA has 13 affiliates, including Natal, Eastern Province, Western Province, Border, South Western District, Orange Free State and Transvaal. Meanwhile, the winter codes programme which is underway is fast gaining momentum. It embraces soccer, rugby, netball and hockey. Western Province leads in netball and rugby while Eastern Province, Natal and Border are occupied with hockey. Hector said as soon as they finished with winter codes his organisation would start with summer codes in October. Summer codes cover tennis, swimming and athletics. [Text] [Johannesburg THE NEW NATION in English 9-21 May 86 p 23] /9317

**VIGILANTE MURDER**--A Kwandebele father of eight was found dead at the door of his home a few hours after he was allegedly taken away by the homeland's vigilante group called Mbokotho. Before his death, the late Jacob Sikhosana learned that his daughter, a primary school pupil had been arrested by the Mbokotho and went to complain to the chief. When he returned, he found a group of Mbokotho attacking his house, breaking windows, doors and furniture. They fired guns at random and started assaulting Mr Sikhosana in front of his wife, children and neighbours. The Mbokotho took him away with them and the following morning at 4 am, his children found his body at the door. Mbokotho is a pro-government organisation formed by the homeland's administration as a cultural organisation. However, there has been an outcry from residents who doubted its 'cultural credibility' when

it launched a reign of terror. In Kwandebele, the Mbokotho is known for its brutality, harassment on people especially those considered to be opposing Kwandebele government and the oncoming independence. [Text] [Johannesburg THE NEW NATION in English 9-21 May 86 p 2] /9317

**EKANGALA RESIDENTS' PLEA REJECTED**--The government has rejected a plea by Ekangala residents to be given land outside the township, because they fear that it will be incorporated into the homeland of KwaNdebele. Mr Peter Kose, who led the delegation which met the Minister of Constitutional Planning and Development, Mr Chris Heunis, said they were told that the township would not be incorporated. But residents are still sceptical at the undertaking. Mr Kose revealed that the minister told them that all Ndebeles would be moved out of Ekangala and resettled in areas under the control of the KwaNdebele Government. They had been told that the removal of Ndebeles would create more room for East Rand residents who could then move into Ekangala. The township would still be administered by South Africa. "We rejected the proposal on the grounds that residents fear that their remaining at Ekangala will eventually lead to them being regarded as KwaNdebele subjects. "What the people want is to be housed elsewhere in the East Rand region. They want to move out of Ekangala as soon as alternative accommodation has been made available," Mr Kose told THE NEW NATION. He said his Committee had already informed the Minister about the "open places" which they have earmarked as possible residential areas for Ekangala people who were ready to move. The areas are portions of Bapsfontein, near Kaalfontein, and Halfway House, near Tembisa. "The Minister's response left the delegation confused. "What he told us is that he will investigate the matter and nothing more," Mr Kose said. The Chief Director of the East Rand Development Board, Mr J. Opperman, said residents leaving Ekangala township were those who were incapable of paying rent. "There are still a lot of people staying there and my department regards them as East Randers, with no strings attached to the KwaNdebele government," Mr Opperman said. He denied that Ekangala would be incorporated into KwaNdebele: "The government would have informed my department." He said the areas chosen by the action committee were still regarded as farming areas and were unlikely to be used for housing. [Text] [Johannesburg THE NEW NATION in English 9-21 May 86 p 5] /9317

**BLACK BUSINESSMEN PROTEST FIRING**--The 14 black businessmen who resigned en bloc from the Nelspruit and District Chamber of Commerce (NDCC), plan to start a new organisation which will be "more considerate to community issues." They resigned after employer organisations took "a tough line" against workers who stayed away from work recently. "Our decision to resign was made because of the irrational attitude of the chamber and other bodies towards the workers, who were faced with a situation completely beyond their control and at risk of losing their lives, but were nevertheless expected to commute to work," said the spokesman for the 14, Mr Yusuf Vawda. He said as they were implicated, as members of the chamber, they denounced decisions taken at a meeting where the black community was not represented. Residents of KaNyamazane, Matsulu and KaBhokweni townships said many people were fired from their jobs and others were replaced by people from "the remoter parts of KaNgwane." [Text] [Johannesburg THE NEW NATION in English 9-21 May 86 p 5] /9317

**EVATON TO RETAIN FREEHOLD RIGHTS**--Evaton residents who enjoy freehold rights over sub-divided properties have been given the assurance that they will retain ownership. The residents had sent a memorandum to the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, and the Orange Vaal Development Board protesting that their freehold rights were being tampered with and systematically taken from them by the local development board and the Department of Cooperation and Development. Evaton is one of the few places where blacks still enjoy freehold title. Mr Heunis said in his reply that the Cabinet had decided that black land owners in Evaton would be allowed to retain ownership over all sub-divided portions of their properties. "It has also been decided that land owned by the Orange Vaal Development Board will be utilised to satisfy the public needs of the residents of Evaton and that the remainder of the land owned by the Board be sold in freehold title to potential buyers," he wrote. Other complaints highlighted in the memorandum were that service charges were paid but they were provided with little or no services. Tenants were made to pay "double rent" as they had to pay the land owner and lodgers' fees to the board. Freehold titles were also lost if the owner got into debt. And some business owners were charged R30 for trading site permits on their own properties. Stories of people's houses being taken from them by community councillors were also common. [Text] [Johannesburg THE NEW NATION in English 9-21 May 86 p 5] /9317

**CENSUS HIGHLIGHTS LACK OF BLACK DOCTORS**--Only 246 qualified black doctors were employed in South Africa's hospitals in June 1983, compared to 9 124 white medical practitioners, a census undertaken by the Central Statistical Service has found. However, the number of black patients treated at South African hospitals in the 12 months from July 1982 to June 1983 was significantly higher than the number of white patients, totalling 1 880 195. A total of 1 199 821 white patients were admitted during this period. According to the census, there were 39 874 black nurses, 30 083 white nurses, 12 429 coloured nurses and 1 739 Indian nurses. A total of 91 769 beds were available for patients. Of these, 48 998 were for blacks, 36 201 for whites, 5 550 for coloureds and 1 020 for Indians. A total of R137 million had been paid out in salaries and wages by hospitals during the 1982/83 financial year, said the census. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 8 May 86 p 10] /9317

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POLITICAL LEADERS VIEW PACE OF REFORM

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["Discussion" between Andre Fourie of the National Party and Jack Rabie of the Labor Party, both in Cape Town; Clive Derby-Lewis of the Conservative Party in Pretoria; and Musa Myeni of the Urban Foundation in Durban on the "Network" program; moderated by John Bishop in Johannesburg--live]

[Text] [Bishop] The effective abolition of the pass book system and the influx control over the past week are two of the most far-reaching reforms announced by the government to date. In fact, over the last year or so government announcements concerning the probable direction of future reform have been quite unprecedented. The Kwa-Natal option comes to mind as does the recently tabled white paper on urbanization. But just how far and how fast should one push reform? How does one maintain initiative during such a period which inevitably holds risks of instability and of polarization? Now, these are some of the issues we hope to tackle in tonight's discussion. However, in order to give you some perspective on the fairly rapid changes taking place in our society, producer at Viljoen compiled this background report.

[Begin Video] [President P.W. Botha] We have outgrown the outdated colonial system of paternalism as well as the outdated concept apartheid.

[Viljoen] The state president, Mr P.W. Botha in his address at the opening of parliament this year.

Mr Botha envisaged a new South Africa as one country, one nation, with universal franchise and citizenship and equal rights for all. This new South Africa, he said, has to be realized through reform and through peaceful negotiation, but midway through the current parliament session there is not yet much evidence of peace or increased peaceful session there is not yet much evidence of peace or increased peaceful negotiation. And some even blame it on too little reform. To assess the merits of reform in South Africa, one might first focus on the basic pattern of reform in a single nation in a divided society. Political experience elsewhere prescribes that a starting point among the different groups should be the seeking of a middle ground, however small it might be at first. In a typical situation this middle ground would have to address the frustrated on the left and the insecure on the right. In South African situation the frustrated can broadly be described as the black population even in-

cluding the large sectors of those who work within the so-called system and whose aspirations have increased over the past few years. The insecure on the right would include a large proportion of the whites who might legitimately fear a loss of privilege, status, security and even self-determination resulting from profound reforms.

Typically in such a situation would also be the radical and militant sectors on the far left and the far right who would either settle for nothing less than complete takeover or who may refuse any change at all. Experience teaches that these radical fringes can seldom be forced to peaceful negotiation, but can in the interim period often be neutralised albeit by state coercion.

The immediate object of negotiated reform then is to win middle ground from both the frustrated and the insecure. This requires that moderation should be made as attractive to both sectors. In this respect reform and coercion have been identified as the operational concepts for peaceful change. The pace of reform should be seen to be swift enough to win over the frustrated blacks, but without losing the government's power base in the right, and this is the basic dilemma of governmental reform--daunting and risky passage between black frustration and white backlash.

[Viljoen continues] Theorists of revolution have found state coercion and the strict maintenance of law and order to be the essential twins of reform, not only to punish violent radicalism, but also to create the stability essential for peaceful reform. South Africa has for the past few months indeed experienced reforms deemed to be of major significance. These include the opening up of central business district to all population groups, freehold rights for blacks, and the establishment of joint regional services councils, thus introducing power sharing at the local level.

This week the total abolition of influx control and the pass law system was announced, which has been described as the most significant change affecting the daily lives of blacks for more than half a century. But as yet there have not been obvious overall signs of peace through reform in the country as a whole. The community is still torn apart by violence, even spreading into new areas, and this violence seems to be mostly from the left, even blacks against blacks. But there is also a resurgence of threatened and overt violence from the right, a new experience in latter years. This week, a meeting to be addressed by the deputy minister of information, Mr Louis Nel was prevented by members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [AWB--Afrikaner Resistance Movement].

[Nel in Afrikaans] Ladies and gentlemen, white radicalism, as bad as black radicalism, has really emerged tonight--rightist radicalism as grave as leftist radicalism.

[Viljoen] Not only do some left and rightist forces seem to be polarizing, but the middle ground has not yet seen the expected growth. In some cases there is even lost ground. Last week the Reverend Sam Buti, mayor of Alexandra, and his whole local council resigned in the face of an explosion of violence in his township. Even the national states, the homelands, have even become targets for revolutionary violence.

Draft legislation for the establishment of the national statutory council as a forum for negotiations on a national scale, envisaged as leading to a new constitution of power-sharing between all population groups, is to be introduced in parliament soon, but even black leaders committed to negotiated change, such as Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, from Kwazulu, have expressed strong reservations for future participation within the stated framework.

Looking at the South African scenario as a whole, it seems that however bold reforms might be, the center still seems to lack pulling power. There is not enough reform, some say, to satisfy black aspirations and not enough security, others say, to quell white fear. In an advertisement of government policy, following the abolition of the pass laws, which was published in major South African newspapers this week, President Botha declared, and I quote: "You have seen that in my hands negotiation is the most powerful weapon of all, but I will not suffer the slaughter of innocents. I will not contemplate any path toward change other than peaceful evolution. This I can promise you: when the history of new the South Africa is written, it will not be written in blood. It will be written in the one thing our enemies fear the most: peace and goodwill." Unquote.

If peaceful negotiation then is the only avenue for change, the question looms large. Is the middle ground attractive enough? [end video]

[Bishop] Mr Fourie, we have seen and heard what we have put together and what we call a backgrounder. Can we have your comments on it very briefly please?

[Fourie] Thank you very much. I think the choice of every South African who believes in democracy is between violence and negotiation, and that is I think where we must find the discussion this afternoon around the middle ground that you referred to. It is my honest opinion that unless radical elements on the right and on the left can accept that we must find middle ground for a democratic process which will be in the interest of all in South Africa, I think we are all doomed.

[Bishop] Thank you for that. Mr Derby-Lewis.

[Derby-Lewis] John, yes. President Botha says that the apartheid concept is an outdated or outmoded concept and yet he was elected to power on that basis. So in fact he is at present illegally governing South Africa because he has no mandate other than a mandate from possibly the United States' State Department who are always poking their noses into our affairs and telling us what to do. As far as middle ground is concerned, I think we are going to have a lot of problems identifying moderates. We will talk about that bit later, but I want to assure the people of South Africa that the right do not feel insecure. The right are most concerned about losing their self-determination, and demand that we have an election to exercise our right to choose the government which we want.

[Bishop] Right. Let's go down to Durban now. Mr Myeni, your comments on that backgrounder.

[Myeni] It is actually very interesting to hear the member of the Conservative Party referring to Mr Botha's government as illegal on the basis of actually Mr Botha saying apartheid is an outdated concept. As a black person I find that absolutely interesting because he is by implication saying all former South African governments have been illegal, because I as a black man would say since I never participated in the election of those governments then I would call them illegal. But I am not saying they are illegal. So, I find it very interesting but I would tend to agree with Mr Botha in saying apartheid is actually outdated. It was outdated on the very first day when it was launched.

[Bishop] What about our backgrounder though? You had a bit of political infighting there, the two of you so far, but what about our backgrounder? Can we stay with you for just a second, Mr Myeni?

[Myeni] Certainly the background is a very great source of hope because it speaks about a number of things that Mr Botha has announced, and I am here to discuss some of those policies and hopes.

[Bishop] Okay. Mr Rabie, we have seen your face on the screen. Let us hear your comments now please.

[Rabie] We are faced with a basic dilemma. One is that the National Party when only concentrated on a deeply divided society and they legislated for that, in fact they institutionalised, ethnicity, whereas we have also got the other arm of the South African scene and that is interdependence. So, when we talk about negotiation it must be seen to be negotiation. In other words when reforms are announced by the government the government must state very clearly it is because of representations made by so and so and so. But now if you listen to the Conservative Party, Mr Derby-Lewis for instance, they want to go back to the partitions that the National Party tried to introduce and that created conflict, destructive conflicts in this country, and we must stop that.

[Bishop] Mr Derby-Lewis, do you want to go back?

[Derby-Lewis] John, actually we want to go forward to political partition which is a positive move forward because it will give everyone the right to govern themselves without domination by any other group. It also will give everyone the right to decide how to spend their money, how to educate their children, etc, and you know I think we are getting to the stage in South Africa where it is about time certain people put their money where their mouths are.

[Bishop] Mr Fourie, you will have something to say about that, won't you?

[Fourie] Well, I definitely have something to say because I think that Mr Clive Derby-Lewis made a completely misleading statement in the beginning when he said that the state president has no mandate to implement what he is going.

[Derby-Lewis] Does he have a mandate for the Kwa-Natal option? Does he have mandate to release influx control?

[Bishop] Can we just let Mr Fourie finish?

[Fourie] I think Mr Derby-Lewis must not act like his counterparts acted in Brits. Let me just finish my story.

[Derby-Lewis, interrupting] You mean the National Party people acted in Brits. They initiated the violence at Brits, not the people on the right.

[Fourie] John, if this is going to be a brawl like that I think then I don't think we can reach anything. This is the type of thing that we are subjected to in politics in South Africa...

[Derby-Lewis, interrupts]

[Bishop] Can we just let Mr Fourie have his say? You believe in free speech, I am sure, Mr Derby-Lewis.

[Derby-Lewis] If we have facts, please.

[Bishop] Right, let him just have his say.

[Fourie] I am coming back to the record of the National Party. If you take the way that the government has introduced the tricameral parliament, it appointed the president's council which came forward with proposals, those proposals were then put into legislation by the government, the government went to its party congresses and then consulted the highest authority, namely the white electorate by way of a referendum, which it won by a two-third majority before implementing it. The state president made it very clear that he will not implement any policy in regard to the political participation by blacks unless he goes to the people again by way of a referendum or a general election. So, that is where he will get his mandate. In the meantime, obviously he has to negotiate and he can't go and ask for a mandate for every piece of negotiation that he does. The other issue that Mr Derby-Lewis issued [as heard] surprised me and that is that he says the right doesn't feel insecure. Of course they don't feel insecure because they have opted obviously for violence in the way that they have acted in Brits in alliance with the AWB.

[Derby-Lewis] Mr Fourie, just tell me who started the violence?

[Myeni] Can I just build on that point?

[Bishop] Can we just go to Durban, now?

[Myeni] I would like to just build on Mr Fourie's point by saying that it is actually surprising to hear somebody challenging the mandate because I do not know whether the member of the Conservative Party has a national mandate from all the peoples of South Africa to seek solutions based on partition. However, I as a spokesperson today and tonight of the Urban Foundation must clearly outline from the onset that I am not in the businesses of challenging people's mandate, but as Urban Foundation I am in the business of seeking ways of establishing a just society based on the concept of respect for law and equality for all people and achieving that within normal and civilized norms of society.

[Bishop] Thank you for that. Before anybody...[voice interrupts]

[Bishop] No, no. The chairman must speak, sorry. Just a minute. Before we go any further, I think this is going to be the central thrust anyway, how to we achieve that peace and goodwill and a just society. Having said that, so we don't forget the issue, who wanted to speak next?

[Rabie] I want to come in here.

[Bishop] Mr Rabie, please do.

[Rabie] I want to address Mr Clive Derby-Lewis. He opts for partition whereas the Nationalist Party is divorcing itself from partition and talking about a unilateral state with universal franchise. I want to know from Mr Lewis, has he ever consulted me with regard to his partition ideas? And I know very well that you can't enforce your ideas on to any community. That is why the Labor Party decided to call on the state president to appoint a commission of enquiry so that we can formulate alternatives to the present constitution which we don't believe in, but we are here to participate and to get peaceful solutions for what is going to happen in this country and hence our commissions that we can talk to everybody and come up with a sort of scientific solution for our problem.

[Derby-Lewis] Mr Rabie, may I say at this stage that you say that we haven't approached you. We cannot approach you because we are not the government of South Africa. The point that we are making is that President Botha with all of his hocus-pocus of so-called reform is totally deviated from the mandate which he got from the voters who put him into power. What I am saying is that he must call an election and we are due an election at the end of April unless he is going to hoodwink the public [interruptions] legally he can postpone the elections until 1989, but he has no mandate. He has no mandate from Natal for the Kwa-Natal option. On the contrary, you will remember that when the referendum was held for this so-called new constitution the Natalians reacted strongly to the fact that Mr Van Zyl Slabbert incorporated Chief Buthelezi for a "no" vote and the result was the biggest "yes" vote in any province--75 per cent. That was resistance from the Natalians against the interference of Chief Buthelezi and now Mr Botha wants us to believe that the Natalians will accept this. They will not accept it under any circumstances.

[Rabie] But Mr Lewis....

[Bishop, interrupting] Just hold on a minute, please. Derby-Lewis you made some strong statements there, hocus-pocus, that is what you called the state president's reform. Can we go over to Mr Fourie to answer on that one, yes.

[Rabie, interrupting] I want to react to what Mr Derby-Lewis just said.

[Bishop] Now we are on to Mr Rabie.

[Fourie] Thank you, John. May I continue, please?

[Rabie] I asked specifically whether he ever negotiated with me or anybody else with regard to his partition policy. We appointed some years ago in the old Colored Persons Representative Council a committee to investigate alternatives and his present leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, who was then part of the government, was the only person that refused that his statements be recorded for our record purposes.

[Bishop] Mr Rabie and Mr Derby-Lewis, can I ask you to just hold your horses for a minute? This business about whether the Conservative Party consulted with colored people, let us just leave that for a moment and go to Mr Fourie and answer that challenge that the state president's reforms are hocus-pocus.

[Fourie] That is of course the typical statements, unsubstantiated statements that we are getting used to. The argument is, John, and I am coming back to the initial script that we listened to. You made, the remark was made that the middle ground was not attractive enough and because of the insecurity for the whites on the righthand side and the frustrations on the blacks on the left-hand side. I think that the state president and the government have proved its bona fides to all South Africans by starting to do away with all legislation which is discriminatory basically on the skin color of a person. So, what the government is trying to do is to create an atmosphere of mutual trust between those people, I say again, who believe in democracy and who doesn't want to revert to violence like the AWB and the ANC.

[Myeni] Can I build on that, Mr Bishop?

[Derby-Lewis] Is postponing elections democratic, Mr Fourie? Postponing the election for 8 years, is that democratic?

[Fourie] But of course it is democratic. There were 17 by-elections held in the last few months since the Soutpansberg one.

[Derby-Lewis, interrupting] And the National Party has lost support in every one.

[Fourie] And the National Party has won 12 of those, the Conservative Party has won 2 and the HNP [Herstigte Nasionale Party] 1. So that is proof of the support that the government has of the people.

[Derby-Lewis] No, it is not. Now give us a general election so that there are not isolated instances. The National Party has lost support throughout South Africa and the general election will change the government and this is what we want.

[Fourie] That is your opinion and I don't accept that.

[Derby-Lewis] That is the opinion of the people of South Africa too.

[Fourie] That is your opinion.

[Derby-Lewis] Why don't you arrange an election and test it. Are you afraid of it?

[Fourie] The government is acting in terms of the grondwet [constitutional act] 1983, and that has given them an extension.

[Bishop] Gentlemen, can we ask both the National Party member and the Conservative Party member to just stop the interparty wrangling for a moment. I want to go to Durban now. One of the major questions that we brought up at the beginning of this program is the achievement of peace and the end of violence. Perhaps our representative there from the Urban Foundation. Mr Myeni, the blacks have been very heavily on the receiving end, one way or another of the violence. How do we do this?

[Myeni] It is a very regrettable phase we are going through as a nation, particularly because you have to trace the causes of this particular phase that we are going through, which is namely the whole system of apartheid which has been rejected over many decades by the majority of civilized people throughout the world and throughout South Africa. Now, the point that I would like to make is that it is very vital and significant that the South African Government has recognised the need to change and change peacefully, but changing peacefully we have to acknowledge that there will always be certain elements on either side which will not probably appreciate the very fact that the South African Government is in arrears, so to speak, in paying its reform installments. But we appreciate every installment that it delivers and what is going to be very important is how is the South African Government going to actually implement the changes it has announced. That is vital.

[Derby-Lewis] Mr Myeni, can I ask you a question?

[Myeni] Yes, please.

[Derby-Lewis] Do you go along with this concept of middle ground and using moderate leaders, etc?

[Rabie] I want to come in...

[Bishop] All right, there is a question to Mr Myeni.

[Myeni] The concept of middle ground, left, right. Those are questions of certain analysts, but what is important is that we should have a collision of interests, allies, coming together to ensure that the middle ground is actually strengthened by delivering the reforms that are expected and demanded by the people at large.

[Derby-Lewis] Okay. Now, Mr Botha is presenting Chief Gatsha Buthelezi as a moderate black leader. He states adamantly that in fact he is a radical in every respect and yet we know that there are blacks in South Africa who look upon Chief Buthelezi as the Muzorewa of South Africa. How would you feel about him as your future leader?

[Bishop] Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, before we get the answer there, are you saying the state president is presenting Chief Buthelezi as something. Isn't Chief Buthelezi presenting himself?

[Derby-Lewis] It certainly looks as though if we have to take into consideration the amount of media coverage that Chief Buthelezi gets, he is obviously being brought up as the so-called moderate black leader. And I would like Mr Myeni to answer the question.

[Bishop] Wait a minute, I can hear other voices here.

[Rabie] I think Mr Derby-Lewis is misleading us on that question.

[Fourie] Absolutely.

[Bishop] Is that Mr Rabie?

[Rabie] He is misleading us on that question because, sir, Chief Buthelezi is portraying himself. He doesn't speak on behalf of President Botha nor does Alan Hendrikse speak on behalf of the state president. What is important, however, is the fact that we can get together and thrash out issues and then announce them together. Whereas Mr Derby-Lewis wants to do it in his little corner and wants to decide for the while to South Africa, which is completely impossible. For as long as whites want to decide for the whole of South Africa we will have violence.

[Derby-Lewis] Mr Rabie, answer my question about Chief Buthelezi. Do you see him as a moderate or a radical black leader?

[Rabie] I see him as a real leader representing his people the way they want him to represent themselves.

[Fourie] John, may I come in on this please?

[Derby-Lewis] Although he totally allies himself with the ANC.

[Fourie] I don't think that's fair.

[Bishop] Gentlemen, can we just say--I don't think that is fair either, you know. It is not fair because Chief Buthelezi isn't here to answer for himself. This is going backwards and forwards asking people what they think of other people. I don't think, Mr Derby-Lewis, you would regard that as a fair, if we did that to you.

[Derby-Lewis] But we are talking about the middle ground and we must establish who the moderates are, the so-called....

[Fourie, interrupting] John, may I come in on this one please?

[Bishop] I am addressing the issue of discussing Chief Buthelezi when he is not here.

[Fourie] May I please come in on this one?

[Bishop] Yes, come in please.

[Fourie] I just want to say that whatever Mr Derby-Lewis or anybody thinks of whoever in South Africa, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is the leader of the majority black group in South Africa, the Zulu people, and I don't think we should give a tag to Mr Buthelezi, but what is interesting is that the leader of the Conservative Party in Parliament the other day accused the government of even talking to Buthelezi and says that we shouldn't talk to Buthelezi because he is a radical. Now that won't bring us anywhere. What I think we must decide is to give every person in South Africa who is a leader of a group of people the right to decide for himself where he stands. In fact, to link Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi with the ANC I think is ridiculous. He is fighting the ANC just as well as he is trying to put his case to the white government in South Africa.

[Derby-Lewis] He is quoted in the NATAL MERCURY of the 22d of the 3d, 1986, as calling the ANC his comrades. How do you fight your comrades, Mr Fourie?

[Fourie] I think that you must ask Dr Buthelezi....

[Rabie, interrupting] Let me answer you on that score....

[Derby-Lewis] You made the statement.

[Bishop] Alright, there is somebody else who wants to answer....

[Rabie] Let me just say something on that issue. The leader of my party, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, supports the principle of the ANC and he wants the ANC and Mandela unbanned, but he doesn't....

[Derby-Lewis] So he supports violence.

[Rabie] He doesn't support the violent aspects of the ANC.

[Derby-Lewis, interrupting] But the ANC haven't denounced it....

[Rabie, interrupting] We have denounced it very vehemently.

[Derby-Lewis] But the ANC haven't denounced it.

[Rabie] No, no, that is their problem. That is not our problem.

[Derby-Lewis] But how can you support a body that won't renounce violence?

[Rabie] We are supporting the principles. We are not supporting the body.

[Derby-Lewis] But what principles, the principle of violence....

[Fourie] John, may I ask a question to Mr Derby-Lewis, please because he is putting all the questions to us, perhaps he must answer....

[Rabie, interrupting] We are getting closer and closer to the middle ground, closer and closer to the middle ground....

[Bishop] Gentlemen, gentlemen, just hold on. Can we [word indistinct] Mr Fourie? I think you have got something you want to say.

[Fourie] Mr Derby-Lewis is asking all sorts of questions as if he is doing the interview. I think we should ask him in turn why does his party not reject the stand taken by the AWB which is committed to violence on the other side?

[Derby-Lewis] I will tell you gladly because it is the frustration which white people feel in this country....

[Fourie, interrupting] So if people are frustrated they can revert to violence.

[Derby-Lewis] ...having been denied the democratic right....

[Fourie, interrupting] So what you are in fact saying....

[Bishop] Just hold on....

[Derby-Lewis] Stop interrupting, Mr Fourie. Give me the chance now. I listened to you. Because the white people of South Africa have been deprived of the right to exercise their opposition to what the National Party Government is doing at the moment.

[Fourie] So you are reverting to violence?

[Derby-Lewis] ...so they have peacefully demonstrated, that was a peaceful demonstration and the only violence that came, Mr Fourie....

[Fourie, interrupting] You are misleading the people outside.

[Derby-Lewis] Mr Fourie, just listen, the only violence that came was initiated by National Party people at that meeting.

[Fourie] I am not talking about the meeting....

[Derby-Lewis] ...and the AWB people and any other people present did not retaliate.

[Fourie] I am not talking about the Brits meeting. That we discussed already.

[Derby-Lewis] ...They peacefully....

[Bishop] O.K. Gentlemen, back to you Mr Fourie, back to you, Just hold on....

[Derby-Lewis] You must give a chance to answer his question.

[Bishop] You had quite a lot of time tonight.

[Fourie] I want to know from Mr Derby-Lewis whether he supports all the basic aims and principles of the AWB. I challenged his leader in parliament and Dr

Ferdie Hartzenberg says the Conservative Party members are free to join the AWB. They stand for a supreme Afrikaner regime in charge of South Africa. That is what I want to know from him.

[Bishop] Mr Derby-Lewis, just one--I have got to say that time is really running short now. Will you answer yes or no to that?

[Myeni] May I suggest something, Mr Bishop?

[Bishop] Yes.

[Myeni] I think the rambling around and the grumbling that is taking place is actually signifying the confusion that is going on in parliament and also in South Africa as a whole. Now as an outsider from the party-political alignment of forces, I think we have to go back to your presentation and ask how do we actually move from where we are to where this country ought to be, a civilised country accepted in the international arena by Western standards for that matter. Now my question or rather my suggestion is, we are concerned here with what affects black people and everybody in this country. We want security for everybody, we want peace for everybody, we want prosperity for everyone. Now as an Urban Foundation spokesperson, I must quickly underline that there are certain things that have got to be done. We appreciate what the government had done in terms of initiating particularly abolition of the pass law because there are so many of my people who have died--you can remember 21 March 1960, Sharpeville--people who have lost their lives as a result of the pass law, people who have been arrested as a result of their protest against the evil system of pass law which has represented an institutionalised form of discrimination. Now, we appreciate that. What is now important, is: how do we deliver housing to black people? How do we improve the quality of education for all? How do we actually legitimize the political process for black people so that they can choose their leaders, not white people to start pontificating, saying "So-and-so is moderate, so-and-so is radical." That is not the question.

[Rabie] John, can I come in now?

[Bishop] Yes, please. Time is really....

[Rabie, interrupting] Yes, I know that. I am talking to Mr Myeni, because we all have the same basic problem.

[Derby-Lewis] No contribution, but you want all of the benefits.

[Rabie] We are in parliament now, as so-called colored people. We want blacks also to get there. Now, when these announcements about reform are made, why doesn't the black people stand up and be counted when it matters? Why must it only be those that are inside parliament, that make the announcements, and they do not come in and say: "This is okay? Because, when the pass laws announcement, the abolishment thereof, was announced, the radicals said: "Oh, it will just be another pass in another form." And the people that think like Mr Myeni did not stand up emphatically and say: "We accept that the pass laws are being abolished."

[Derby-Lewis] Because they are frightened of the UDF, your allies, Mr Rabie, as you have just stated.

[Bishop] Is that right, Mr Myeni?

[Myeni] I would like Mr Rabie to know that it is actually an incorrect perception to say that one would have to expect black people to get up and jump around like little happy kids after receiving some presents. What is important is that black people are not a homogenous entity, but they have aspirations which must be satisfied. Now, having said that, I am not in the business of counting black people who stand up. I am in the business of stating my beliefs, and I am saying, what the state president has done in abolishing the pass laws and influx control is tremendous....

[Bishop] Thank you very much. I have to be in the business of counting the clock, I am afraid, at the moment. The last word from Mr Fourie, please.

[Fourie] I have got a lot of sympathy with Mr Myeni. And I think what the government must do, and which it is rapidly doing, is to bring stability back [to] communities in South Africa. And the one thing which will bring back stability to the black people is the fact that we have accepted the permanence of the urban blacks, we must now provide land, we must provide them with decent townships, site-and-service schemes, where they will be allowed to build their own homes, and develop into community in themselves. And then the second thing which is important is that we must create mechanisms together with the black people for them to determine who their leaders are, so that proper negotiation can take place in South Africa, in the interests of all.

[Bishop] Well, Mr Fourie, thank you very much. We also thank Mr Musa Myeni, Mr Jac Rabie, and Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, for joining us in debate.

/8918

CSO: 3400/1670

HOUSE OF DELEGATES REPORTS 270 VACANCIES

Durban POST NATAL in English 30 Apr-3 May 86 p 5

[Article by Khalil Aniff]

[Text]

WHILE the country's unemployment rate soars, more than 270 vacancies have still not been filled by the House of Delegates.

And the main reason for this, according to Mr J N Reddy, Minister of Budget, is that no suitable candidates can be found.

In a written reply to questions tabled in Parliament by Mr Logan Chetty, MP for Chatsworth Central, Mr Reddy said a total of 273 vacancies existed in the House of Delegates.

There were 53 in the Department of Budget and Auxiliary Services, 109 in Health Services and Welfare, 79 in Local Government, Housing and Agriculture and 37 in Education and Culture.

Mr Reddy said the reasons for not filling the posts, which have been available since the beginning of February, was because of the lack of suitable candidates for "specialised jobs", and the present work-load did not warrant the filling of certain vacancies.

However, some posts were in the process of being filled, he said.

Several MPs were surprised at Mr Reddy's contention that suitable personnel could not be found.

Mr Chetty said there were scores of university graduates who were walking the streets in search of employment and he was perturbed that the vacancies were not advertised in the normal manner so that the unemployed could apply.

Chairman of the Ministers' Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said a number of unemployed Indians had applied for the vacant posts but they did not meet the requirements.

"These vacancies are in certain specialised fields, among them planning and agriculture, and successful candidates have to meet certain criteria before being considered," he said.

He said some of the vacancies were "internal" and others had not been filled, although they were advertised in the media.

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CSO: 3400/1755

## BLACK, WHITE PERFORMANCES IN UNIVERSITIES DISCUSSED

Durban POST NATAL in English 30 Apr-3 May 86 p 10

[Article by Kanthan Pillay]

[Text]

SHOULD the priority of universities be to strive for "academic excellence"? Or should it be to ensure that the interests of its students are served?

Two recent events in the academic world have re-opened this debate.

In the first case, the University of Natal withdrew an invitation to host the National Education Crisis Conference in Durban for fear of a possible outbreak of violence.

In the second, the Medical University of South Africa closed its doors after students protested against the admitting of two white students to the campus.

Both moves by the respective university administrations have come under attack, and behind the attacks is the question: "Who is the university there to serve?"

The attack against the University of Natal came strangely enough from a representative of a white university.

Nico Cloete of the Department of Psychology of the University of the Witwatersrand, while addressing his counterparts here in Durban last week,

suggested universities should be changing their approach towards black students.

"With black students especially, it is a problem of trying to get them to relate what they are learning to their own existence. More often than not, it is difficult to translate what is taught at an academic level into the reality of black existence."

Black students, he said, coming from a disadvantaged background of Bantu education had no way of knowing what was expected of them at a white university. They were not told what was expected of them, and when they later failed to cope, they were simply written off as products of an inferior education.

"Black students, even when they do well, are more often than not, not quite sure *why* they have done well. When a student gets 100 percent, what does it mean? That he had the same picture in mind as the lecturer? When a student reads material, is his basic focus to transform it or reproduce it?

"When a student is asked to give an essay-type answer, there are two ways in which he can go about doing this.

"He gives a summing up of the entire picture — a 'holist' approach, or he can take key points and expound on them — the 'atomist' approach.

"Black students, especially those who have matriculated via the Department of Education and Training, have this problem in arriving at answers. They almost invariably adopt a holist approach where more often than not, the examiner is looking for a qualitative answer, not a reproduction of the text book."

The problem, he said, wasn't because of a lack of intelligence.

"There is a very low correlation between intelligence and learning strategies. This isn't a problem faced by black students alone. White students schooled in Christian National education have a similar problem.

"The pressure under which black students are — the financial constraints — mean that they can't afford to ex-

periment, they can't fail. Black students are known to spend several hours a night studying, cramming information.

"Then they rush out, write the exams, fail, and then promptly cram even more thinking. That is the problem.

"One should analyse what one gives marks for.

"Very often we don't know what we are evaluating. People say that we are trying to maintain standards, but we are doing the opposite, mystifying the whole process.

He warned against academics drawing parallels between black performance at the universities and outside.

"A very dangerous theory I've heard at Wits is that black students are trapped into holist arguments. That is nonsense. If black students were not into introspective arguments, they would not be wanting to be destroying Bantu education.

"As long as university syllabi reflect the dominance of white society, to black students it will be something vague out there that they have to

relate to to get a diploma, to get a degree.

"With black students especially, it is a problem of trying to get them to relate what they are learning to their own existence. More often than not, it is difficult to translate what is taught at an academic level into the reality of black existence.

He attacked the argument that "academic standards" had to be maintained.

"When one talks about standards and excellence, there are very different ways we can approach it."

There was among academics, he said, a lack of assessment and awareness of socio-political realities. There is a tendency to opt for short term gains, and a tendency towards support for some type of ethnicity or tribalism.

"In Durban, first, it was British colonialism, then Afrikaner nationalism, and now Inkatha.

"Black students are faced with a predominantly white university —

can they identify with it?

"The university agrees to host the National Education Crisis Conference, and then withdraws the invitation. An opportunity to make a meaningful contribution to a national problem was lost because of the university's backing down for Inkatha. Even the white vice-chancellor of Wits said "this is a disaster for the image of English universities".

"The decision to cancel the conference was also racist. I wonder if there has been any attempt to ask black students what they felt?

"It even raises the question of the United Democratic Front-affiliated staff association at this university. What have they done? What is their response going to be to May 1?

"What the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee was trying to do was take a situation of anarchy and control it. We were not part of that process."

Nat Kgathi, an executive member of the Durban Medical Students

Representative Council, condemned the closure of the university by the rector, Professor L T Taljaart, and the university council.

"As an academic Professor Taljaart should have had the interests of his students at heart. Closure of Medunsa in spite of the willingness of the SRC to negotiate, is incompatible with democracy," Mr Kgathi said.

"The Medunsa students' rejection of white undergraduate students was a sober decision based on the reality of apartheid health in our country with its appallingly low black doctor/patient ratio.

Mr Kgathi said: "As students of Natal Medical School, we vehemently oppose admission of white students at our medical school. Until all medical schools are open to all races and there is one non-racial and democratic education department shall we accept white students to be admitted here?"

/9317

CSO: 3400/1757

REPORTER EXPLORES GANG PHENOMENON IN CAPE

Detailed Study

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 11 May 86 p 6

[Article by Mark Stansfield]

[Text] Almost animal-like in their instincts, Peninsula gangsters mark "their" territory with a symbol painted on a wall--reminiscent of a tomcat--and will fight to the death to protect that area.

But how did the gangs start and what is their function in the areas they inhabit?

A recent study undertaken by Mr Wilfred Scharf, of the Institute of Criminology at the University of Cape Town gives a valuable and sometimes startling insight into the gang phenomenon.

They seem to have been spawned by the breaking of the extremely delicate mutual-support web which existed in communities like District Six. The relocations caused by Group Areas removals destroyed the web, the easy income opportunities and the feeling of "place."

Instead, adolescents turned to their most accessible form of support: each other...And gangs were born--with the exploitative help of illegal entrepreneurs who needed the gangs in order to survive.

Mr Scharf studied one of these gangs for several months:

"In Grassy Park the recruits were induced into gangsterism by the owner of a large shebeen--Mr BD.

"BD recruited his 'workers,' his private police force, from reformatory inmates.

"He sent men to the reformatory during visiting hours with gifts to the inmates. They were also instructed to tell the inmates, who were often from rural areas or small villages, that there was work, food, clothing, dope, fun and gang-togetherness at the shebeen once they were released or had escaped.

"Most of the sizeable shebeens in 'coloured' areas are run by, or protected by, street gangs.

"The illegality of their enterprise precludes them from resorting to the formal justice machinery in order to enforce contractual compliance on the part of their customers.

"Moreover, the danger of falling prey to raids by other gangs virtually forces shebeeners to hire a private police force to enforce informal justice.

"The power which the gang lends to the shebeen usually provides the base from which expansion into other accumulation avenues in the informal sector can be attempted.

"Gangster guards form the frontline of contact with both the community and the police.

"In this respect, the shebeen owner's hierarchical superiority in the gang allows him to mystify the exploitation by superimposing the concept of brotherhood on the one hand and unquestioning obedience to the gang 'book' on the other.

"Besides exercising his superiority over the guards, the owner has to take on some responsibility for their safety, or at the very least, fight for it whenever the gangster guards are in trouble with the law.

"In order to sustain the support of the gangsters it is imperative that the shebeen enterprise provides enough support and meaningful activity in the context of gang ideology to sustain cohesion.

"To this end the shebeener will allow the gangsters to earn their perks outside the scope of their 'formal' employment at the shebeen. He allows them to rob, housebreak, steal and participate in any other activities of their choice.

"Gangsters call these episodes 'nice times.'

"These 'nice times' include using their physical power to gain money, drugs, music, sex and flashy clothes--things out of reach of the average working-class kid.

"To the gangsters, the activities formally and informally linked to the shebeen enterprise take on a far greater importance than the comparatively mundane activities provided by their family circles.

"BD kept up to 30 youngsters as employees/guards at two of the four houses he owned.

"Although they were never paid a wage they received food from his kitchens, free dope and free booze.

"Sex was also provided in a partially organised manner and money was sometimes given for clothes.

"They slept in shacks on the premises and seldom, if ever, returned to their families during that phase of their gang membership," said Mr Scharf.

Is it possible that other elements within our society will exploit these youngsters for other, more sinister purposes?

#### How Gangs Exploit Protest

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 11 May 86 p 6

[Article by Mark Stansfield]

[Text] Street gangs in the Cape Peninsula are more politically conscious and active today than their late-1970s counterparts, and could form a formidable urban guerilla force if organised.

But it appears that at present they use unrest as a cover for activities such as arson and looting.

Gang membership has declined since the late 70s, when about 80 000 people (out of an estimated population of 2 000 000) claimed to be members.

But some of those who join gangs today are former high school pupils who were unable to find employment and temporarily joined street gangs as a partial survival option, according to a recent study undertaken by Mr Wilfred Scharf, a member of the Institute of Criminology, University of Cape Town.

"These youngsters are in a better position both to know what the cause of the scholars is all about and are capable of conveying the meaning in a language the gangsters understand," he says.

Pupil-protestors have become fairly well organised and realise the need for unified disciplined action.

But there is an "element"--which includes the street gangs--which deviate from decisions taken at mass student meetings and who act in their own interests, Mr Scharf's study points out.

"Several SRC members, teachers and pupils we interviewed from various schools stressed the fact that it had clearly been decided not to incorporate and include the 'element' in protests.

"The matric class (of one particular school) was asked by the school's SRC to go to Manenberg, Heideveld and Hanover Park to explain to various gangs what the protests were all about, and to ask the gangs to withhold their participation.

"Apparently they met with little success except in Heideveld, where the gangs seemed to know what it was all about and acted consciously in support of the students.

"The gangs, were, however, quick to start stoning and petrol-bombing when submerged in a crowd.

"SRC members expressed grave concern about the unmanageability of a crowd of scholars when gangsters had slipped amongst it.

"The anticipation of action and police retaliation render the scholars open to spontaneous suggestions which are difficult to control once the action has started.

"They (the SRC members) bemoaned the fact that it was often the 'skollie element' which sparked incidents."

The Born Free Kids (BFK) gang in Grassy Park openly admitted to sparking off stonings and torchings when students were on the march, he said.

"They also admitted to an attempted smashing of the liquor outlet nearest them," he said.

"Gang strategy--according to gang members themselves--is to hang around outside the school grounds and slip into the crowd if any action was planned or started happening.

"In Retreat, Steenberg and Lavender Hill groups of Mafia Mobsters and YSKs erected barricades and burn them and then exploited the confusion by looting some of the neighbourhood shops.

"In Athlone some members of the 77 Gang were delighted that the 'riots' were in full swing.

"They took extreme pleasure--so they said when interviewed--in dodging Casspirs and Buffels and joining in burning tyres.

"Owners of liquor outlets in most 'coloured' suburbs said that the 'element' and not schoolchildren, were responsible for most arson and looting attacks on their premises during 'riots.'

"Many reports were relayed to us about gangsters posing as political activists inspecting people's shopping, and confiscating it, under the guise of enforcing the consumer boycott of white shops," he said.

The report concludes that while developments over the last few years have certainly raised the level of awareness among gang groups about their political position and that of others, it could still only be said in isolated cases that political consciousness and gang-consciousness had merged to any meaningful degree.

"But this is likely to be the case," Mr Scharf pointed out.

"Gang survival takes up a considerable amount of time, energy, conscious planning and manipulating and therefore political activity forms a very small part of the gangsters' lives.

"Yet I would tentatively suggest that although the gangs have exploited the political protests to their own, often material, advantage, they are considerably more politically conscious than their predecessors in 1976 and 1980," he said.

"Gangs becoming a force to be reckoned with politically, is virtually unavoidable--given the saturation of State police and troops in the townships and their often random actions."

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CSO: 3400/1755

## UNEMPLOYMENT TRAINING SUCCESS IN BLOEM, EASTERN CAPE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 15 May 86 p 10

[Text]

**BLOEMFONTEIN.** — Never before had the need for basic training been shown as has the training instituted last year for unemployed persons, Dr P J (Piet) van der Merwe, Director-General of Manpower, said after a meeting in Bloemfontein yesterday of the committee that is responsible for the training and job creation programme.

The programme was instituted in June last year after the Government had provided funds for the training and creation of jobs for the unemployed.

In the first nine months, 253 000 persons had been trained at the various group training centres such as those in Bloemfontein and at Emthonzeni in the Eastern Cape. With the initial decision taken by the committee to privatise the training programme there are presently training facilities at 367 points — 183 urban and 184 rural — in South Africa.

Dr Van der Merwe said that more than 4 000 unemployed artisans had

obtained employment as instructors and many of these people had, for the first time, realised the value of their trade.

Dr Van der Merwe said that, while the training programmes were co-ordinated with the job creation programmes, it was not possible to monitor the employment of all. Many persons with new skills went into the informal sector, obtained private contracts, or became entrepreneurs.

An amount of R75-million had now been voted for the continuation of the programme.

Dr Van der Merwe said the programme produced good results and contributed to tranquillity. All population groups were trained and, to date, there had been no instance of friction at any training point brought to the attention of his department.

"The programmes are bridging the communication gap to an extent the value cannot be determined. People are talking and listening to one another," said Dr Van der Merwe.

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CSO: 3400/1755

RENEWED CONFIDENCE IN NATION'S ABILITY TO PAY

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 1 May 86 p 3

[Article by John Tilston]

[Text]

THE financing of international trade by SA companies has just about returned to normality, according to Johannesburg-based bankers.

Immediately after the shock of the foreign debt standstill imposed last September, many foreign companies selling goods to SA insisted that they received payment for goods at the same time as the order, despite the fact that trade credits were excluded from the standstill net.

Gradually the companies have regained confidence in SA's ability and determination to repay credits and to keep them outside the net.

But Standard Bank's international manager Manfred Schutte says, while there is a definite improvement in foreign banks' attitudes to SA, this has yet to extend to a willingness to increase credit lines to the country.

And while he confirms that trade finance has become easier since the standstill, he says there has been a greater reluctance on the part of SA

companies to take foreign loans.

SA companies have had their fingers badly burnt by foreign exchange losses and by being caught in the whole standstill imbroglio.

In addition, the depressed state of the economy is not encouraging borrowing, and so while there are certain foreign banks willing to re-lend the 5% repaid to them in terms of the Leutwiler agreement, some cannot find borrowers.

Schutte notes, however, that the disinclination to increase exposure to SA has resulted in credit terms for SA borrowers being generally limited to 90 days. Previously importers could get up to 360 days' credit.

Hill Samuel's Roly Boardman says that this restriction has not applied to local companies with overseas affiliates. These companies have traded on "open accounts", and generous credit terms. These have not been affected by the standstill and subsequent events.

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CSO: 3400/1702

APPLICATIONS FOR DECENTRALIZATION INCREASE 23 PERCENT

MB021659 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1604 GMT 2 May 86

[Text] House of Assembly, May 2, SAPA--Applications by foreign companies for decentralization concessions had increased by 23 per cent in the last year, the minister of trade and industries, Dr Dawie de Villiers, told the House today.

"This is a very encouraging sign at this juncture in our history," he said in reply to the debate on his budget vote.

Part of the purpose of the decentralization concessions was to attract foreign industry.

In the 1985/86 year, a total of 92 applications by foreign industrialists for concessions were approved, he said.

"There are still enough foreign businessmen who can see the potential of this country and who are prepared to bring their money here."

If all the applications went ahead as scheduled, 20,000 new jobs would be created.

Answering doubts raised about decentralization during the debate, Dr De Villiers said the latest unverified figures showed that between April last year and March this year 1,243 new projects had been approved by the decentralization board.

If all the projects came to fruition, 87,635 new jobs would be created.

He said it was interesting that in spite of the economic situation there had been a 20 per cent increase in approved applications, involving a potential investment of R1.29 billion.

In the past 4 years the board had approved 4,423 projects with a job creation potential of 298,000.

"The policy of decentralization is bearing fruit and is making a major contribution to job creation."

Replying to points raised in the debate, he said the department was presently dealing with the President's Council report on small businesses and deregulation.

"In the very near future we will give our reaction to the report."

In answer for a suggestion by Mr S. Collakoppen (NPP Central Rand) that all liquor containers should carry a health warning, he said he did not agree that liquor was a health hazard.

While respecting those who didn't drink for religious reasons, the government had to deal with liquor as a commodity.

"Although it can be abused, its availability as such is not at the root of the problem."

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CSO: 3400/1671

MAJORITY OF PRETORIA BUSINESSMEN FAVOR OPENING CBD

MB021444 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1225 GMT 2 May 86

[Text] Pretoria, May 2, SAPA--The majority of Pretoria businessmen are in favour of the opening of Central Business Districts, [CBD] cinemas and restaurants to all races, according to the latest survey by UNISA's [University of South] School of Business Leadership.

A total of 59 per cent of Pretoria's businessmen are in favour of opening cinemas, 66 per cent in favour of opening restaurants and 74 per cent in favour of opening CBDS to all races, says the poll, entitled: "A survey of the socio-political and economic attitudes of Pretoria businessmen" conducted in September last year.

It was a follow-up to a similar survey in June last year.

But the percentage favouring the opening of CBDS has dropped slightly since June 1985 when 78 per cent agreed with open CBDS.

The survey reports say more respondents appeared to be neutral about the opening of CBDS than in the survey 3 months earlier.

It points out that there is a significant difference between the attitudes of English and Afrikaans speakers.

The report says: "The English-speaking respondents are almost unanimous in their attitude towards this issue while the Afrikaans-speaking respondents are divided. An important change in Afrikaner attitude between June and October would appear to be the relative decrease in disagreement (from 45 to 30 per cent) and the increase in neutral attitude (from 1 to 13 per cent)."

As in the June 1985 survey, the report says there again existed more support for the desegregation of restaurants than for dinemas.

But it ways the difference between the Afrikaans and English-speaking respondents was again significant.

Of the English-speaking respondents 84 per cent are in favour of the opening of cinemas while only 37 per cent of Afrikaans-speaking respondents share this sentiment.

In the same vein, 90 per cent of the English-speaking respondents are in favour of opening restaurants compared with 41 per cent of the Afrikaans-speaking respondents.

A total of 51 per cent of the respondents disagreed with the opening of residential areas to all races. But the majority of English-speaking respondents (63 per cent) were in favour of this move while 71 per cent of Afrikaans speakers were against it.

There was a similar pattern with responses to the opening of schools. Only 7 per cent of Afrikaans-speaking respondents were in favour of opening to all, compared with 69 per cent of English-speaking respondents.

"The notion of selective apartheid would appear to be in existence," says the report.

"This means the respondents would draw a line at some point with regard to how far they are prepared to go in relation to the desegregation of society."

/8918

CSO: 3400/1671

LOW OIL PRICES MAY BOOST COAL INDUSTRY

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 1 May 86 p 3

[Text]

**LONDON —** SA's coal exports will benefit most from falling oil prices and increased demand for coal-fired electricity, says Chase Manhattan Bank's monthly report on coal.

The report says the lower the oil price, the greater the ability of SA's coal industry to exploit its price advantage against its main rivals in Australia and the US — and so overcome the growing political barriers that have been erected against it in Western Europe.

SA, capable of exporting 40-million tons a year of power station coal, can cut prices to match or beat even \$9 a barrel for oil, and so gain up to an additional 5-million tons of sales.

In a review of prospects for international coal trading in 1986, the report says even if oil prices fail to recover from their present levels, coal suppliers will feel only a limited impact this year.

In spite of the level of spot prices, the report suggests if crude oil prices

recover to \$15/b in the second half of the year, the amount of coal traded internationally in 1986 could exceed last year's 335-million tons.

If they stay at the present \$10 to \$12/b level, it could fall to 319-million tons.

The international coal trade is shielded from the immediate impact of the oil price drop because most of the coal is supplied under contracts which limit the consumer's ability to respond quickly to the changing oil situation.

The most vulnerable is coal purchased on the spot market or under contracts about to expire.

However, Chase Manhattan says coal suppliers "will not just walk away from the market".

"Rather, when possible they will respond by lowering their own prices."

Coal suppliers have some flexibility to do so, since some of their own costs, including freight, are related to oil prices.

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CSO: 3400/1695

KOCK DISCUSSES PLUSES, MINUSES OF CURRENT ECONOMY

MB292104 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1536 GMT 29 Mar 86

[Text] Johannesburg, April 29, SAPA--The latest developments are reassuring for the SA economy but disappointing in others, said Dr Gerhard de Kock, Governor of the Reserve Bank at a Federated Chamber of Industries [FCI] meeting today.

"A major reassuring development is that the net capital outflow has declined appreciably," he said. "During 1985 there was a large net outflow of R10.4 billion."

Apart from the repayments made on 15 April under the interim debt arrangements, there has been in recent weeks also a bunching of repayments of oil credits obtained during the third quarter of 1985 when the dollar price of oil was much higher than it is at present.

As a result of the various repayments of credits inside and outside the net, the gross gold and other foreign exchange reserves of the Reserve Bank declined during March and April.

South Africa's foreign liabilities must, however, have declined by a substantially larger amount during this period, said Dr de Kock.

"Another encouraging development is that the dollar price of gold has held up well in the face of the slump in the oil price. If it continues to do so, the South African balance of payments on current account should derive considerable benefit from the improvement in the ratio between the gold and oil prices.

"From the point of view of curbing inflation and maintaining a current account surplus, it is also reassuring that the money supply growth has remained under firm control," he told the chamber.

"Viewed together with the March budget, which provides for a deficit before borrowing of only 2.7 per cent of the estimated Gross Domestic Product, it appears to rule out any danger of excess demand rearing its ugly head again the period immediately ahead."

Dr De Kock stressed, however, that the main disappointing aspect of recent developments is that the new economic upswing appears to have faltered somewhat in the first quarter of 1986.

"Final estimates for the national accounts are not available, but present indications suggest that real Gross Domestic Product, which increased moderately in the second half of 1985, declined slightly in the first quarter of 1986.

"According to sectoral estimates for the first quarter, real output increased in non-gold mining and agriculture, remained more or less unchanged in manufacturing and transport, and declined somewhat in gold mining and trade."

Real gross domestic expenditure increased moderately in the first quarter of 1986.

"But this was almost entirely due to a considerably lower rate of inventory depletion and an increase in real government expenditure.

"The increase in real private consumption expenditure in the second half of 1985 was not sustained in the first quarter of 1986.

"Expenditure on durable consumer goods, and on new motor vehicles in particular, actually declined.

"Real fixed investment maintained its downward trend in the first quarter. Registered unemployment, seasonally adjusted, increased in January but decreased slightly in February.

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SOUTH AFRICA

ASSOCOM SAYS ECONOMY NOT RESPONDING

MB141635 Johannesburg Television Service in English 1545 GMT 14 May 86

[Text] The South African economy is not yet responding sufficiently to growth policies says the Association of Chambers of Commerce [ASSOCOM]. At the conclusion of its midyear executive council meeting today, ASSOCOM said that certain recommendations to get the economy moving again had already been made to the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis.

[Begin Video] [Correspondent Suzette Pocock] The predicted recovery in the economy during the first four months of this year has faltered and ASSOCOM believes that it is now imperative to reshape both the substance and the perception of economic policy. Speaking to ASSOCOM's Raymond Parsons this afternoon, he outlined some of the options.

[Parsons] If we want to get this economy moving this year, we are going to have to make further concessions on the tax front in particular. We have in mind here the early repayment of the 1980 loan levy, a further cut in the general sales tax of perhaps 2 percent, that the petrol prices should be reduced and that SATS [South African Transport Services] at the same time should indicate that its transport tariffs will be cut and finally we could, perhaps, look at speeding up some of the spending projects in the field of black housing and unemployment relief. [end video]

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CSO: 3400/1705

## APPROXIMATELY 25,000 JOBS LOST IN METAL INDUSTRIES

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 9 May 86 p 4

[Text]

Most firms in the metal and engineering industries were operating at "depressed levels" and some 25 000 jobs had been lost in the past 15 months, a survey says.

The survey, conducted by the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa (Seifsa), indicated this was due to an "under demand" in the domestic market, inflation and instability in the labour relations area.

The estimate of workers in production processes in the metal and engineering industries as at the end of March 1986 was 350 000, a decrease of 104 000 jobs since the year ending 1981, the survey said.

### SCARCITY OF ARTISANS

However, despite the oversupply of artisans in the basic metal sector, there was a scarcity in certain categories of skilled artisans, particularly in the construction and heavy engineering sectors.

The Seifsa survey confirmed that during the first quarter of 1986 new order intakes remained poor, severely competitive tendering was being experienced in the constructional and heavy engineering sectors and rising costs of materials were adversely af-

fecting competitiveness on both the domestic and international markets.

It added that prospects for the remainder of this year remained uncertain.

Seifsa statistics showed that physical volumes of production in the metal and engineering industries decreased by 7,7 percent for the calendar year 1985 as compared with 1984, and some 15 percent when contrasted with the peak production

levels achieved in 1981.

The survey suggested that the outlook for the balance of this year seemed to be uncertain, but there were some prospects for improved demand with a better year seen for the agricultural sector, a possible general broadening of economic recovery with increased sales of consumer durables, and an expected positive turnaround in the mining and manufacturing sectors.

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CSO: 3400/1695

CCAWUSA ISSUES STATEMENT ON STORE WORKERS STRIKE

MB131630 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1625 GMT 13 May 86

[Text] Johannesburg, 13 May, SAPA--The seven day strike at Pick'n Pay stores around the country, settled in the early hours of this morning, was the most widespread industrial action to have affected the retail trade in South Africa.

This was said in a press statement today by the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union [CCAWUSA]. The wage hike of 1R85-a-month across the board backdated to 1 March and lasting for 12 months would affect 13,000 workers around the country, the union added.

"This is another step forward towards a living wage in Pick'n Pay. The seven days of industrial action involved sit-ins, sleep-ins and shop floor placard and singing demonstrations. This affected over 55 stores located all over South Africa, including such places as Kimberley, Bloemfontein, Nelspruit and Newcastle," the statement said.

The sleep-ins in these stores were conducted with little outside assistance and were "an indication of the high degree of worker shop floor independence amongst Pick'n Pay members," the statement said.

"A new strategy in the form of shop floor demonstrations was also initiated by Pick'n Pay workers during the strike action...the union maintains that demonstrations are a legitimate and correct form of industrial action carried out in the process of persuading management to see reason," it added.

CCAWUSA said in the statement that management allegations of intimidation by union members was an "overreaction."

"In general the industrial action was conducted in a disciplined, peaceful and structured manner. There were examples of rude and threatening behaviour by some customers, management and police which sparked off incidents."

The union said it is currently compiling a report which will document "the examples of human drama, courage, and ingenuity" displayed during the dispute.

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